



# Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

Spring 2005  
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In this issue:

Notes from the Director .....	1
Campus Visitors .....	2
Spring Courses .....	3
In Memoriam .....	4
Jarrod Tanny <i>Yids from the Hood: The Image of the Jewish Gangster from Odessa</i> .....	5
Kathryn D. Schild <i>A Dialogue with Dostoevsky: Orhan Pamuk's The Black Book</i> .....	9
Berkeley-Stanford Conference .....	11
Bear Trek to St. Petersburg .....	20
Degrees Awarded .....	21
Upcoming Events .....	22
Outreach Programs .....	24
Faculty and Student News .....	26
Current FLAS Awards .....	27
Associates of the Slavic Center ....	28
FLAS Competition .....	29
Fellowship Opportunities .....	30
East European Funding .....	32

## **Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies**

University of California, Berkeley  
Institute of Slavic, East European, and  
Eurasian Studies

260 Stephens Hall # 2304  
Berkeley, CA 94720-2304  
iseees@berkeley.edu

<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/>

Editors: Stella Bourgoïn and Barbara  
Voytek.

Subscriptions are free of charge.  
Submit mailing changes to the above  
address or call (510) 642-3230.

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your comments and suggestions.

## Notes from the Director

Welcome to the spring semester! I hope you all had a good holiday. We at the Institute are looking forward to a very rich program of lectures and conferences. I will outline only some of them here. On Thursday, February 3, we will hold the XXth Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture. This year, our speaker is Istvan Deak, Seth Low Professor Emeritus at Columbia University, a prominent historian of Central and Eastern Europe, and a regular contributor to the *New York Review of Books*. Professor Deak's topic is "The Post-World War II Political Purges in Europe." We hope to see many of you at the lecture in the Alumni House at 4 p.m.

Some of the giants in the field of Slavic and East European studies are our own Berkeley colleagues. It gives me very special pleasure to announce a roundtable, "The Early Years of Slavic Studies at UC Berkeley," to be held on Thursday, February 17, at 2 p.m. in the Heyns Room of the Faculty Club. Participating will be some of the pioneers in the study of our area in the United States—and some of our most admired friends and colleagues: Joan and Greg Grossman, David Hooson, Olga and Bob Hughes, Hugh McLean, and Nicholas Riasanovsky. Andrew Janos will chair the panel. A reception will follow.

The XXIXth Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference will be held at UC Berkeley on Friday, March 4. The title is "The Caucasus: Culture, History, Politics." Inside the Newsletter, you will find a copy of the program. Also in March, on Thursday the 31st, we will hold the fifth Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies. Robert M. Hayden, professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, has agreed to be our speaker. The title is yet to be confirmed, but the lecture will deal with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). It will take place in the Alumni House at 4 p.m.

Those of you who attended the November conference on the history of Russian ballet (and many others, I hope) will not want to miss the Friday, April 8 conference, "Celebration of Music in Russian History and Culture." This event will take place in Hertz Hall at 2 p.m. On Saturday and Sunday, April 9–10, there will be a separate but related conference entitled, "Glinka and His Legacies," organized by Anna Nisnevich and William Quillen, Ph.D. candidates in the Department of Music.

The program for the Annual Teacher Outreach Conference is still in the planning stages, although we do have a date: Saturday, April 23. The semester will conclude with a large conference, "The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture in the 1950s and 1960s." The conference has been organized by a Ph.D. candidate in the history department, Eleanor Gilburd, and her colleague at the University of Toronto, Dr. Denis Kozlov. Among the participants are prominent scholars from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, and Russia.

You will also note in the Newsletter that we have had a very rewarding response to our recent mailing about a new endowment fund that will cover graduate student travel and research. Please consider joining us if you have not done so already. The tragedy in Beslan and the recent events in Ukraine remind us of just how important and volatile our part of the world is. We will continue to need area specialists, and UCB—with the Institute's help—will continue to train them.

To close, 2004 was an extremely sad year for our community. Berkeley will never be the same without Reggie Zelnik, Czeslaw Milosz, and Martin Malia. Let us keep bright memories of them as we enter into the New Year and hope for a shining 2005.

Yuri Slezkine  
Director of ISEEEES  
Professor of history

## Campus Visitors

**Emma Antl** is a visiting lecturer with the Slavic department this year. She is teaching second-year Czech.

**Milos Basic**, a lecturer at the College for Industrial Management, Krusevac, Serbia, comes to ISEEEES this year through the Junior Faculty Development Program, which is administered by the American Councils for International Education (funded by the US Department of State). He is researching sociological methods and theory as well as the sociology of gender.

**Avram Brown** is teaching a course on Dostoevsky in the Slavic department this spring. Avram received his Ph.D. from Berkeley in 1998.

**Oksana Bulgakova** is a visiting professor this spring with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. She is teaching a graduate literature seminar.

**Vakhtang Chikovani** is teaching Georgian in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year. He holds a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Yerevan, Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

**Izabela Filipiak** is spending the 2005 calendar year at Berkeley while she works on a book manuscript. Izabela was recently awarded a Ph.D. from the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

**Ivana Jelic**, a teaching assistant in the Department of International Public Law and Human Rights, Law Faculty of the University of Montenegro, is also sponsored this year through the Junior Faculty Development Program. Her research focuses on international law and human rights.

**Alma Kunanbaeva** has returned to Berkeley this spring to teach a course on examining culture through language, with particular emphasis on Kazakhstan.

**Mikolai Kunicki** is a lecturer with the Department of History this spring. He is teaching a course on twentieth-century Eastern Europe.

**Mirja Lecke**, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität in Münster, Germany, is visiting the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year on a Humboldt Foundation grant. Her research will focus on the representation of the western part of the Russian Empire in 19th-century Russian literature.

**Elena Minina**, an instructor in the Department of General Linguistics at St. Petersburg State University, is visiting Berkeley this year through the Junior Faculty Development Program. She is conducting research on contemporary sociolinguistics.

**Riccardo Nicolosi**, from the Slavic department at Universität Konstanz in Germany, is visiting the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this spring. His research project is "The Topic of Degeneration in Russian Realism."

**Hasmig Seropian** is a visiting lecturer in the Department of Slavic Language and Literatures this year where she is teaching Modern Armenian language in the department's Eurasian studies program. She holds a Ph.D. in linguistics from UC Berkeley.

**Izaly Zemtsovsky** is a visiting scholar at Berkeley this year, based at ISEEEES. He is an ethnomusicologist and folklorist who specializes in the cultures of Eurasia.

# Courses for Spring 2005

## Selected faculty course offerings and selected area-related courses

Anthro 2	Introduction to Archaeology	R. Tringham
Anthro 189.2	Utopian Imaginations: Art and Power	A. Yurchak
Anthro 162	Georgian Folklore	S. Kurtsikidze
Anthro 250X.7	Discourse, Performativity, and Performance	A. Yurchak
Econ 215A	Political Economy	G. Roland
Econ 261	Comparative Economics Seminar	G. Roland
History 39I	Soviet History Through Film and Fiction	Y. Slezkine
History 100.6 (IAS 150.1)	Making of Market Society in the 19th-Century Ottoman Empire/Western Europe and in the Present-Day Middle East and Post-Socialist East & Central Europe	H. Islamoglu
History 171C	The Soviet Union, 1917 to the Present	Y. Slezkine
History 173C	Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe	M. Kunicki
History 275B.2	Europe in the Twentieth Century	J. Connelly
History 280B.1	The Caucasus from the Russian Conquest to the Present	S. Astourian
History 285B.2	Research Topics in Soviet History	Y. Slezkine
IAS 150	Do You Speak "Nomadish"? Defining Nomad Culture Through Kazakh Language	A. Kunanbaeva
NES 126	Silk Road Art and Archaeology	S. Mehendale
Poli Sci 2	Introduction to Comparative Politics	A. Janos
Poli Sci 129B	Russia After Communism	M. S. Fish
Poli Sci 149A	Nationalism, Religion, and Identity Politics in the Soviet Union and Its Successor States	E. Walker
Poli Sci 200	Comparative Politics	M. S. Fish
Slavic R5A.1	Poets and Painters	M. Brunson
Slavic R5B.1	Authors and Their Influences	M. Viise
Slavic R5B.2	Writing the Image: Exploring Literature and the Visual Arts	S. Milkova
Slavic R5B.3	Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in 20th-Century Literature	T. Lindsey
Slavic 46	20th-Century Russian Literature	O. Matich
Slavic 130	Introduction to the Culture of Medieval Rus'	V. Zhivov
Slavic 134C	Dostoevsky	A. Brown
Slavic 137	Introduction to Slavic Linguistics	R. Perelmutter
Slavic 147	Slavic and East European Folklore	R. Alexander
Slavic 151	Readings in Polish Literature	D. Frick
Slavic 204	Russian Composition and Style: Discourse Analysis	I. Paperno
Slavic 214	Medieval Orthodox Slavic Texts	A. Timberlake
Slavic 245B	Russian Realism	I. Paperno
Slavic 280.1	Topics in Russian Pre-Modern Cultural History	V. Zhivov
Slavic 280.2	Graduate Linguistics Seminar	A. Timberlake
Slavic 280.3	Russian Modernist Theatre and Its Doubles: Film, Circus, Radio, and Fireworks (1898-1927)	O. Bulgakowa
Sociology 280P	The Russian Experience in the Twentieth Century	V. Bonnell

**Language Courses:** The Slavic department also offers language courses in Armenian, Bulgarian, Czech, Georgian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and Serbian/Croatian.

## *In Memoriam*

### Professor Martin Edward Malia, 1924–2004

Martin Malia, who died rather suddenly at the age of eighty, was one of our ablest and most brilliant specialists in Russian history and, more broadly, European intellectual history. Educated at Yale, a naval language school, Harvard University, and the Ecole Normale Supérieure, he received his doctorate at Harvard and taught at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1958 until his retirement in 1991. He devoted his entire life to his scholarly pursuits.

This capsule summary might suggest a steady production of academic volumes on perhaps abstruse topics. The reality is very different. Martin Malia began his career with a stunningly impressive dissertation, later a book, on *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism, 1812–1855* (published in 1961) and a few related articles of the same sterling quality. Then for years, even decades, he published nothing while working and reworking his thoughts and his materials. The breakthrough came with the decline and later collapse of the Soviet Union and the “inadvertent” publication of Malia’s Paris lectures on *Comprendre la Révolution Russe* (published by Malia’s French colleagues and friends who had obtained the legal rights to the lectures). Two major works followed. *Russia Under Western Eyes* had been written and rewritten for many years, but finally came out in 1990. It represented a fine contribution as much to the intellectual history of Western Europe as to that of Russia. *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991*, published in 1994, was Malia’s masterful response to the end of the communist era in Russia. Characteristically, Martin Malia died as he was completing another volume, this time on major revolutions at the leitmotif of modern European history. Perhaps more surprisingly, Malia, the aloof scholar, became busily engaged personally in the cataclysmic events of the period, representing the French press during the transformation of Poland and writing seemingly countless reports and articles.

Indeed, in 1990 his article “To the Stalin Mausoleum,” published under the pseudonym “Z” and predicting the failure of Gorbachev’s efforts to modernize communism, became a center of national and even international attention.

Malia’s power resided in the elegance and clarity of his thought and expression and in an almost fanatical pursuit of his argument. He combined a cultural approach, rich and ingrained in him, with the demand for structure, organization, and answers typical of a social scientist. That was, of course, true of his teaching as well as of his writing. Often late to class, inattentive to simple requirements of a course, and almost never finishing the material to be covered—one course on Russia in the twentieth century ended in 1929—Malia still managed to impart to his students something special in terms of intelligence, understanding, and imagination. They, especially good and promising students, knew and appreciated it deeply. I knew it even better after teaching the course in Russian intellectual history jointly with Martin Malia for a number of years.

Recently, when a colleague spoke of his own retirement, Malia commented: “Fine, you will still have some good years of work.” Unfortunately, the good years ended for Malia on the nineteenth of November, 2004. Martin Malia is survived by a niece, four nephews, and very many students.

Nicholas V. Riasanovsky  
Professor Emeritus of History

# Yids from the Hood: The Image of the Jewish Gangster from Odessa

Jarrold Tanny

*Jarrold Tanny, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History, is currently writing his dissertation on Russian Jewish culture in twentieth-century Odessa. A longer version of this paper fits the image of the Jewish gangster into the broader contexts of Yiddish literature and Soviet history.*

Historians, memoirists, and writers of fiction have often depicted pre-Soviet Odessa as a frontier-town, whose warm climate, vibrant commercial port, and relatively lax administration fostered a population that had an affinity for vice, violence, and merrymaking. This was no less reputedly true of Odessa's Jews, who, according to all accounts, were acculturated, business-oriented, secularized, and aggressive. This view has been popularized through the image of the Jewish gangster, the prevailing icon of Odessan Jewry who, all at once, embodies the physical strength and revelry characteristic of this city. More than anyone else, Isaac Babel fashioned the image of the gangster Jew of southern Russia, depicting him in stark contrast to the imagined shtetl-Jew of the northern Pale of Settlement, who was steeped in tradition and piety, and victimized in an endless cycle of bloody pogroms.

Between 1817 and 1857, Odessa enjoyed the status of a free port, which led to the erection of internal customs barriers between the region and the other Russian provinces.<sup>1</sup> Extensive trade linked Odessa to the outside world, opening up her shores to considerable traffic in commodities, people, and intellectual movements. An atmosphere of cosmopolitanism quickly germinated; in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Italian served as the city's *lingua franca*, and an Italian opera house imbued Odessa with an air of cultural sophistication. The region surrounding Odessa, known during late Imperial Russia as New Russia (*Novorossia*), quickly became known as a strange and alluring place, rich in goods, culture, and social diversity.<sup>2</sup>

Odessa's thriving trade and liberal policies gave the city a reputation as a land of opportunity, Russia's El Dorado, where fortunes could be made overnight and luxuries from around the world could be acquired and consumed to your heart's content. During the nineteenth century, thousands flocked to the region. Foremost among the migrants were Russian Jews from the central and northern areas of the Pale of Settlement, who were seeking to escape the destitution and burden of repressive tsarist legislation.<sup>3</sup> Jews enjoyed greater freedom of movement in Odessa than elsewhere in Russia, having no residency restrictions imposed on them.<sup>4</sup> Economic opportunities abounded, and Odessa's Jews filled the ranks of a burgeoning commercial class. By 1875, over sixty percent of

Odessa's export firms were owned by Jews.<sup>5</sup> Jewish residents were involved in local politics to a degree unmatched anywhere else in Russia.<sup>6</sup> The absence of a native middle class induced tsarist officials to tolerate the political and economic involvement of Odessa's prominent Jews; they were valued for their pivotal role in furthering the city's prosperity.<sup>7</sup> In reality most Jewish migrants found little more than poverty, hardly different than the shtetl they had left behind.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, Odessa's image as a land of opulence and adventure persisted throughout the nineteenth century, and the city continued to attract those yearning for a better life.<sup>9</sup>

This paper will examine some images of the Jewish gangster and his environment—the Jew of strength and virility who towered over his Gentile neighbors and sought to control his own destiny. Although this paper focuses on the writings of Isaac Babel and various depictions of real-life gangster Mishka Yaponchik, Babel had both forerunners and successors in Russian and Yiddish literature, and they all used humor and vivacity to evoke Odessa's exoticism and the inimitability of its Jewish population. Notwithstanding the extortion, prostitution, carousing, and even the occasional murder among the Jewish gangsters, there are few traces of the fear and anxiety that are visible in contemporaneous public discourses in the Russian press over rising crime, capitalist exploitation, and sexual debauchery.<sup>10</sup> All these images conceived of a Jewish underworld intended to be appreciated for its eccentric characters and unique environment.

Many writers, including historians, have portrayed the shtetl Jews as victims, decimated by successive waves of social upheaval with neither the will nor the means to defend themselves against tyrannical governments and marauding Cossacks.<sup>11</sup> With its images of emaciated Jews sheepishly going to their deaths, the Holocaust reinforced this idea, many times over, suggesting that mass genocide represented the culmination of a protracted history of Jewish victimization.<sup>12</sup> Such robust and merry Jewish gangsters of New Russia come across as remarkable exceptions among Old World Jewry.

Isaac Babel, a native Jewish Odessan, noted this apparent dichotomy while riding through Volhynia in 1920 amid landscapes of carnage and destruction wrought by the



Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War. Babel was struck by the frailty of the region's Jewish population, particularly when juxtaposed to the "fat and jovial" Jews of southern Russia.<sup>13</sup> Babel wrote this impression down in his diary, which documents his travels with a battalion of Red Cossacks during the Soviet-Polish War. This observation subsequently resurfaced in greater detail in his literary masterpiece, *Red Cavalry*, where Babel describes how

narrow-shouldered Jews stand sadly at the crossroads. And in one's memory flashes a picture of the southern Jews—jovial, pot-bellied, bubbling like cheap wine. There is no comparison between them and the bitter haughtiness of these long, bony backs, these tragic yellow beards. In their passionate features, painfully carved, there is no fat, or warm pulse of blood.<sup>14</sup>

Such antithetical representations of Russian Jewry form a fundamental component of Isaac Babel's writings, and a close examination of Babel's *Odessa Stories* against the backdrop of *Red Cavalry* underscores the uniqueness and exoticism of New Russian Jewry.

Babel's diary and *Red Cavalry* vividly depict the destruction of the East European shtetl and the victimized Jews who remained passive, frozen in time and place, and weighed down by centuries of a cultural tradition that revered learning and piety over action and belligerence. The Jews he encounters are "a pathetic little bunch of people with the beards of prophets."<sup>15</sup> Images of death and decay are rampant; bazaars stand deserted and empty of goods, with shops selling little more than "[animal] skulls and dead flowers."<sup>16</sup> Cossacks pillage the empty shells of ruined synagogues, appropriating the few remaining light bulbs.<sup>17</sup> In Zhitomir, a Hassidic rebbe, once the mighty pillar of his community, is left abandoned in his hovel—"empty and of stone, like a morgue"—with few followers and no heirs to carry on his dynasty.<sup>18</sup> Babel passes the Sabbath in the stillness of the rebbe's dilapidated home, a home embattled by "the wilderness of war [that] gaped outside the window."<sup>19</sup>

Although Babel implies that the decimation of the shtetl is the direct product of war and revolution, he concludes that this is merely one instance in an endless cycle of victimization and destruction in Jewish history. Throughout his diary, Babel meditates on this troubling observation. From Laszkow, Galicia, Babel asks himself, "How is it different from the times of Bogdan Khmel'nitsky?"<sup>20</sup> On another occasion, Babel describes

the Jewish cemetery outside Malin, hundreds of years old, gravestones have toppled over.... The cemetery is overgrown with grass, it has seen Khmel'nitsky, now Budyonny, unfortunate Jewish population, everything repeats itself, now that whole story—Poles, Cossacks, Jews—is repeating itself with stunning exactitude, the only new element is communism.<sup>21</sup>

The cemetery serves as a record of Jewish suffering, and its tombstones narrate this history. In *Red Cavalry's* "The Cemetery of Kozin," we see how piety may have given the Jew status among his peers but has never protected him from belligerent Gentiles. Judaism saved neither "Rebbe Azrael, who was murdered by the Cossacks of Bogdan Khmel'nitsky," nor his grandson Wolff who was "abducted from the Torah in his nineteenth spring."<sup>22</sup> Babel's imagined shtetl has always been the site of suffering, and the Jews have always been caught in the crossfire of social upheaval.

Babel underscores the weakness and passivity of the Jew by portraying his antithesis, the strapping and violent Cossack whom Babel views with a mixture of admiration for his strength and shock over his cruelty. In "My First Goose," he describes the "beauty" and youthfulness of division commander Savitskii's "gigantic body."<sup>23</sup> The Cossacks commit violence evenly—almost with serenity; after a day of bloodshed, they return to their camp "dust-stained, sweating, red-faced, [with] no trace of excitement after their butcher's work."<sup>24</sup> The Cossacks are "professionals, it's all done perfectly calmly—that's what makes them special, their self-assurance, hard work..."<sup>25</sup> Babel highlights the fundamental difference between the Jew and the Cossack by using color in his images. Bright and full colors are emblematic of might and authority; Savitskii is described as wearing purple breeches, a raspberry-colored cap, and "shining jackboots."<sup>26</sup> By contrast, the shtetl Jew is old and pallid, drained of life and color. Babel describes aged Jews with silvery beards who stand around "pathetically, bird-like, blue in the face."<sup>27</sup> Most wear glasses, suggesting a universal Jewish disability. The Zhitomir Rebbe is depicted merely as thin fingered and yellow bearded.<sup>28</sup> Like the Jews themselves, the synagogue's walls are "yellow and indifferent."<sup>29</sup> Jewish victimization and Cossack power go hand in hand; when the giant Cossack attacks, the frail and passive Jew awaits his fate in his beleaguered shtetl.

Babel's favorable depiction of the Cossack reflects a sense of curiosity—perhaps even an obsession—that he had with violence and power. Literary critics have often pointed this out, and to cite just one example, Lionel Trilling maintains that "he is drawn by what the violence goes along with, the boldness, the passionateness, the simplicity and directness—and the grace."<sup>30</sup> Babel's family and friends attest to this and have even documented some of his encounters with formidable men. Babel proudly included among his friends Betal Kalmykov, the towering local Party boss in Karbardina-Balkaria, an autonomous republic in the North Caucasus. Babel loved spending time with him, observing how he ran his republic with an iron fist and a strong sense of social justice.<sup>31</sup> On one occasion, Babel witnessed how Kalmykov went into the mountains to personally subdue an armed bandit, an event that Babel related to his friends with great relish.<sup>32</sup> Given this fascination with power, it is little wonder that Babel took his

literary imagination and intellectual inquisitiveness to the Moldavanka, the predominantly Jewish district of Odessa, which, to quote Konstantin Paustovsky, had “a population of two thousand bandits and thieves.”<sup>33</sup>

After living for a time amongst the Jewish gangsters of the Moldavanka in an effort to study their way of life, Babel set to work on the short stories that would subsequently be known as *Odessa Stories* (*Odesskie rasskazy*). The Jews of *Odessa Stories* are everything that the Jews of *Red Cavalry* are not; Babel’s Moldavanka is a landscape of powerful and virile Jews who feel most at home in a world of extortion, smuggling, and vice. They control their environment and shape their destiny, manipulating socio-economic circumstances and political events to their advantage. These are the Jews who fight back in an era replete with impoverishment, anti-Semitism, and pogroms.

Babel’s gangsters are bursting with life and dynamism. They are big and robust, closer physically to *Red Cavalry*’s Cossacks than its Jews. Froim Grach, one of Odessa’s leading gangsters, is described as being “strong as an ox... Strength like you wouldn’t believe! If you don’t butcher an old man like that, he’ll live forever. He had ten bullets in him and he was still going strong!”<sup>34</sup> The mighty Jewish gangster is also marked by his sexual prowess. Benya Krik, the reputed “King” of the gangsters can allegedly “spend the night with a Russian woman, and the Russian woman will be satisfied.”<sup>35</sup> The Moldavanka women are just as brawny as the men and employ violence with little effort. Lyubka, a local Jewish prostitute

was beating a drunken muzhik [bloke] and shoving him into the roadway. She was beating him in the face with her clenched fist, like a tambourine, and with her other hand she was supporting the muzhik so that he did not fall. Small streams of blood were creeping between the muzhik’s teeth and behind his ear; he was reflective and looking at Lyubka as though he did not know her, and then he collapsed on the stones and fell asleep.<sup>36</sup>

Nicknamed the Cossack, Lyubka’s vicious assault is reminiscent of the many scenes of anti-Jewish Cossack brutality in *Red Cavalry*. And like *Red Cavalry*’s Cossacks, the Jewish gangsters are depicted with vivid colors. Babel describes how the

Moldavanka aristocrats... were squeezed into crimson waistcoats, their steel shoulders enveloped in red brown jackets, and on their fleshy legs swelled buttoned leather the colour of an azure sky.<sup>37</sup>

The gangster-aristocrats own the Moldavanka; they flamboyantly parade through the district displaying their power and opulence with little restraint.

Odessa’s Jewish bandits display their affluence at every opportunity. Their world is characterized by an endless spectacle of stylish clothing, rare delicacies, lush

vegetation, and pregnant women. In “The King,” Benya throws an extravagant wedding for his sister Dvoira where they serve “turkeys, roast chickens, geese, gefilte fish and fish soup in which lemon lakes shone like mother-of-pearl.”<sup>38</sup> Babel underscores the connection between the Moldavanka gangsters and rich food in his description of Benya’s colorful clothing; Benya appears in public sporting a “chocolate jacket, cream trousers, and raspberry coloured lacing boots” (*Shokoladnyi pidzhak, kremovye shtany i malinovye shtiblety*).<sup>39</sup> At home, he conducts his business in comfort, eating *zakuski* (hors d’oeuvres), drinking vodka, and smoking a “fat cigar.”<sup>40</sup> With a pregnant wife at his side, Benya sits on his terrace surrounded by wild vines. Whereas the heirless Rebbe Motale in *Red Cavalry* dies slowly, confronting the extinction of his Hassidic dynasty, the healthy King of the Moldavanka will have progeny, an heir to his throne.

Babel’s Odessa is ruled by a *judeo-kleptocracy*—a government of Jewish gangsters—and its rulers preside over their domain despite the presence of tsarist officialdom.<sup>41</sup> “Sensible people” in Babel’s Odessa insist that “the police end where Benya begins,” suggesting that the former are powerless to act without the sanction of the King.<sup>42</sup> The police want to decimate Benya Krik’s army of gangsters, but they are afraid that any attack will fail and “much blood will flow.”<sup>43</sup> In one instance, the cops plan on raiding Dvoira’s wedding, striving to arrest the whole community of thieves and pimps in one fell swoop. The King, however, gets wind of this plot and, by an incredible coincidence, the police station fortuitously catches fire:

‘About forty of them came out of the police station ... they were coming on a raid, but when they had gone about fifteen paces, the place caught fire...’

The superintendent, the new broom, stood on the opposite pavement, biting his moustache. Without movement, the new broom continued to stand. Benya, as he walked past the superintendent, gave him a military salute.

‘Good health, your excellency,’ he said sympathetically. ‘What can one say of this misfortune? Why, it’s a nightmare.’

He fixed his eyes dully on the burning building, shook his head and smacked his lips:

‘Aiaiai.’<sup>44</sup>

The police remain powerless, unable to undermine Benya’s entrenched authority.

Benya Krik, however, is no common thug, and unlike the Cossacks of *Red Cavalry*, he is measured in his use of coercion. He concocts his criminal activities with care, using his intelligence as much as his physical strength. Pen and paper serve as his powerful weapon of choice; violence comes into play only when absolutely necessary. He initiates extortion with carefully worded letters, which

reveal a man who is literate and perhaps even educated. One such letter reads as follows:

Monsieur Eykhbaum, I ask you to put twenty thousand roubles in the gateway of No. 17 Sofiyevskaya tomorrow morning. If you do not do this, there will await you such a thing that it is not heard of, and all Odessa will talk about you.

Yours faithfully,  
BENYA THE KING<sup>45</sup>

A letter of course does not always do its job, and Benya's gang occasionally needs to execute a violent show of strength against its intended target. But even then, violence is grandiose rather than vicious, rarely leading to human casualties. When Eykhbaum refuses to comply, Benya and his gang raid Eykhbaum's estate and proceed to slaughter his cows. Guns are used to drive off the dairymaids, but "the gangsters fired into the air—if you don't fire in the air, someone may get killed."<sup>46</sup> After the demise of several cows, Benya is greeted by a compliant Eykhbaum who acquiesces to his demands.

Benya's authority is partly rooted in his sheer presence. He is a skilled orator, and as in his letters of extortion, he carefully weighs his words, controlling his audience through his charisma. The gangster Froim Grach insists that "Benya talks little, but he talks with relish. He says little, but you want him to say more."<sup>47</sup> Similarly, the narrator of "Justice in Brackets" maintains that "the King speaks little, and he speaks politely. This frightens people so badly that they never ask him to repeat."<sup>48</sup> Benya may have achieved power through an act of robbery, but his leadership is perpetuated by his eloquence and his allure.

Benya's able communication skills and his judicious application of violence are part and parcel to his code of morality. His underlings do not loot with impunity, and Benya makes provisions for those in need, particularly the victims who accidentally get in the way of his endeavors. His sense of justice comes out in "How It Was Done in Odessa," where Benya leads a heist that ultimately goes awry. During the robbery, Iosif Muginshteyn, the fully-cooperative office clerk, is shot in the stomach and killed by Savelii (Savka) Butsis, one of Benya's more reckless bandits. Erupting in anger, Benya chases Butsis out and swears "that by my mother's coffin, Savka, you will lie beside him."<sup>49</sup> Always true to his word, Benya the oratorical King subsequently gives a speech at two funerals, one for Iosif Muginshteyn and one for the gangster Savelii Butsis. Benya also does what he can to comfort Iosif's hapless mother, promising her a generous "pension" and a first class funeral for her son:

listen to me with your ears, Auntie Pesya. You have five thousand in hand and fifty roubles a month until you die—live a hundred and twenty years. Iosif's funeral will be first class: six horses like six lions, two hearses with wreaths, the choir from the Brody

Synagogue. Minkovksy himself will come to sing the burial service for your departed son.<sup>50</sup>

Benya thus restores harmony among the Jewish community of Odessa, keeping his troops in line and giving back something to those who have lost.

Babel created Benya Krik as a romantic hero. Despite arson, extortion, and armed robbery, Benya is depicted as a man of integrity. He is someone to be observed with curiosity, not condemned for his criminal activity. Like Babel's other characters, Benya is a concoction of fact and fiction. *Odessa Stories* combines much that Babel saw during his sojourn in the Moldavanka with the legends and hearsay that he picked up in his literary investigations. Babel certainly did not invent the Moldavanka and its Jewish gangsters, but he drew from the region's rich history and folklore to develop a cycle of stories that reflect its imagined spirit. The personalities and events described in *Odessa Stories* can also be found in various memoirs written by Babel's contemporaries who also witnessed, experienced, and chose to portray the remarkable, and perhaps amusing, Jewish underworld of Odessa.

The history of the Moldavanka and its Jewish underworld has yet to be written, and its origins remain shrouded in mystery. By the early twentieth century, the Odessan boulevard press already regarded crime in the Moldavanka as a growing problem.<sup>51</sup> This was by no means exceptional in late Imperial Russia, where urbanization and industrialization were transforming the Empire's social structure, bringing the upper classes into greater contact with the urban poor.<sup>52</sup> Yet it was only in southern Russia that Jewish criminals left their mark on the collective memory and subsequent mythology of the region.

Various writings suggest that Jewish criminals were already considered a key component in the underworld of southern Russia by the early twentieth century. Petr Abramovich Garvi, a Menshevik who was arrested for revolutionary activity in Odessa on the eve of the 1905 Revolution, describes in his memoirs the many Jewish bandits he encounters in prison. Like Babel, Garvi uses vivid colors to portray them:

Both horse thieves were Jewish. One had jet-black hair, with bright succulent lips that were surrounded by a handsome curly beard. The other one was fair-haired with a red moustache and dreamy eyes. . . . He was by his own admission not merely a horse thief, but a pimp as well.<sup>53</sup>

For Garvi, these Jewish criminals are a source of entertainment, a curious diversion from the realities of prison. He writes that "a new world opened up before me among the criminals. How many 'terrifying' stories, how many swear-words and bawdy anecdotes did I get to hear!"<sup>54</sup> Far from being repulsed, Garvi is intrigued by this culture previously

continued on page 12



# A Dialogue with Dostoevsky: Orhan Pamuk's *The Black Book*

Kathryn D. Schild

*Kathryn D. Schild is in the Ph.D. program in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Her research interests include modern Turkish literature and the construction of national identities in Russia and the Soviet Union.*

In 1881, Dostoevsky wrote, "In Europe we were hangers-on and slaves, while in Asia we shall be the masters. In Europe we were Tatars, while in Asia we are Europeans."<sup>1</sup> To speak in national generalities, Russia and Turkey both see themselves as bridges between Europe and Asia, while the encounter between Russia and Turkey occurs across that border. In Turkey, Russians are Europeans. For the Turkish reader, then, Russian literature expresses a European identity while simultaneously questioning the possibility or authenticity of that identity, which is the aspect Western readers generally see. Since Turkish readers tend to be members of a Westernized and Westernizing elite who are themselves attempting to negotiate a European identity, Russian literature is very appealing.

Orhan Pamuk's 1990 novel *The Black Book* reworks canonical sources from both East and West, among them Ivan's story of the Grand Inquisitor from *Brothers Karamazov*. This paper will explore how Pamuk transposes the Grand Inquisitor to Islam and what aspects of the original are thus emphasized.

*The Black Book* is a mystery novel about individual and national identity. It alternates chapters of the primary plot with chapters of poetic and prophetic newspaper columns by an elusive columnist, Jelal. One of Jelal's columns describes Istanbul waiting for the messiah. He introduces an obscure book, *Le Grand Pacha*, supposedly published in Paris by Kemal, an Ottoman writer, in the early 1860s or '70s. Kemal's book narrates the coming of the messiah and his defeat by the Grand Pasha. Pamuk treats Kemal as a historical figure, giving him an aura of historical validity through a connection to the Ottoman historian Seref. This encourages the sense that the author and his book exist in real life. They don't. Dostoevsky's appropriation of this source exists only within Jelal's column.

In "The Grand Inquisitor," Christ comes to Spain during the Inquisition. He is arrested by the Cardinal Grand Inquisitor, who claims that Christ has failed humanity by valuing freedom too much. Most of humanity is too "weak and mean" for freedom.<sup>2</sup> Instead of freedom, people want mystery, miracle, and authority. By providing these in exchange for obedience, the Grand Inquisitor claims, the Church is actually saving souls.

*Le Grand Pacha* has a different focus. The unnamed, presumably Muslim messiah comes to nineteenth-century Istanbul. The Grand Pasha arrests him and delivers his monologue, explaining that the messiah cannot improve His people's lives because the West is too strong, so any hope He brings is false. To maintain that hope in the face of inevitably victorious external enemies, He will have to attack internal enemies. The Grand Pasha warns the messiah:

I know that you have the resolve to accomplish all the difficult tasks that are put before you, the sense of justice to pluck the criminals out of the crowd without batting an eyelash, and the strength to put them through torture, even though unwillingly, and rise above it all: after all, you are Him. But for how long can you expect hope to distract the multitudes?<sup>3</sup>

This vision turns the messiah himself into the Grand Inquisitor of Dostoevsky's text: not the Grand Pasha, but the messiah will resort to torture to distract the multitudes. Eventually, the multitudes will despair and probably kill the messiah. The Grand Pasha describes a specifically Islamic situation, basing his argument on numerous "economic and political comparisons" which prove the poverty of the East in relation to the West.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the Inquisitor, the Pasha is a secular figure primarily concerned with matters of state, not spirituality.

*Le Grand Pacha* is framed by a discussion of national literatures that suggests a familiarity with Harold Bloom's theory of anxiety of influence.<sup>5</sup> Jelal writes that "Placing this unique work outside our literature, just because it has been penned in French, is as wrong as it is pitiful to claim that 'The Grand Inquisitor' in the Russian author Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov* has been lifted out of this slim treatise."<sup>6</sup> This carefully hedged refutation fails to adequately account for the similarities that Jelal then describes. The column thus inverts the expected path of influence, from Dostoevsky to Pamuk, by introducing a new path of influence from Kemal to Dostoevsky. This inversion can be read as a slight-of-hand masking Pamuk's anxiety over Dostoevsky's influence, but I suggest reading it as Pamuk's ironic statement on the theory of anxiety of influence in the Turkish context.

The Turkish novel is a common site for anxiety about Western influence and appropriation, as it is adapted from European models. This generic anxiety surfaces in Jelal's other columns, which describe the loss of Turkish gestures on the street once Western cinema became popular, the Turkish preference for Western models and brands, and the "impossibility of being oneself."<sup>7</sup> The generic anxiety of the Turkish novel coincides with and represents broader cultural anxieties about Western influence and Turkish backwardness. Pamuk's use of the Grand Inquisitor applies the theory of anxiety of influence on the individual, literary level to discuss these issues of national identity within a political, Orientalist framework.

*Le Grand Pacha's* Eastern orientation posits Dostoevsky's original as Western. Equivalently, *Le Grand Pacha's* use of Islam as a marker for the East makes the Christianity of Dostoevsky's original inherently Western. Dostoevsky's Orthodoxy hereby merges with the Inquisitor's Catholicism as a common marker of Europe instead of standing in opposition to the Inquisitor's Catholicism to emphasize Russia's distance from Europe. While the divisions between branches of Christianity are important within Christian tradition, an outside observer first sees the commonalities. Turkey believes itself to be excluded from Europe largely because it is not a Christian country, and sees Christianity and Europe as interrelated forms of identity to which Russia has access. Russia's own distance from the idealized, European center collapses as it is viewed from a more distant periphery.

Through Pamuk's recontextualization, *Brothers Karamazov* joins the Orientalist discourse prevalent in European literature. Once read as part of this discourse, the story of the Grand Inquisitor operates through a standard Orientalist opposition between the 'Western' philosophy of freedom and 'Eastern' despotism. In one of the standard ironies of Orientalism, the Inquisitor resembles both the Eastern despot and the Western Orientalist. Like the despot, the Orientalist depicts the masses as incapable of rational rule to justify domination. The Grand Inquisitor may argue using Western logic, but he does not represent the internal view of Western government, based on Enlightenment values and a philosophy of individual freedom. Instead, he represents rational domination of the irrational masses, the governance of the East by the West.

When the Grand Inquisitor enacts the Western domination of the East, he functions as a dangerous yet appropriate symbol for Russia. The story of the Grand Inquisitor displaces Russia's negotiation of the East-West opposition onto Spain. Spain serves as a historical setting for the Orientalist confrontation and as a contemporaneously European topos, showing successful assimilation of Western identity. The historic Spanish Inquisition was not intended to liberate the weak from the tyranny of freedom, as the Inquisitor suggests, but to expunge Jewish and Islamic elements from a mixed culture inherited from Moorish Spain. The Inquisition was meant to purify the

West by eliminating its Oriental influences. Spain was thus a culturally ambiguous territory redefined through the Inquisition as strictly Western. This parallels culturally ambiguous Russia and alludes to its marginal relationship to Europe. Like the Inquisitor's Spain, Russia politically dominates its Eastern elements to cultivate a Western appearance. Like in the Inquisitor's Spain, that domination reveals Russia's peripheral status and inability to fulfill the Western model. Yet Spain's success in adopting a Western identity—at least from Russia's perspective—reassures the reader that assimilation is possible. The story of the Grand Inquisitor uses Orientalism as a method of Western assimilation. By enacting the political domination of the internal East and by making universal claims, both the Inquisitor's Spain and Dostoevsky's Russia can transcend their peripheral position.

Universalism fulfills the Orientalist claim to Western norms. In the Orientalist view, conditions in the East are inherently political, while conditions in the West belong to humanity. The problem that Dostoevsky's messiah faces is spiritual, not political. Yet the political nature of Pamuk's reimagining of the text emphasizes the equally political nature of Dostoevsky's claims to universality.

If we accept Pamuk's counterfactual and pretend that Kemal had in fact written *Le Grand Pacha*, then Dostoevsky's references to Turkish cruelty in the discussion leading into the story of the Grand Inquisitor could be explained through anxiety of influence. In this version, he demonizes Turks to justify his appropriation of the source material without attribution. That literary anxiety leaves textual traces, such as Ivan's condemning the Turks in Bulgaria. Yet, revealing Pamuk's invention of *Le Grand Pacha* doesn't eliminate the insecurities in Dostoevsky's original text. The traces which supposedly point to *Le Grand Pacha* remain as markers of Dostoevsky's political anxieties about East-West identity.

Dostoevsky's universal claims about humanity in the story of the Grand Inquisitor mask these political anxieties. Ivan's introduction shows this process, shifting from stories about Turkish brutality to cases of Russian brutality to the universal failure of human nature as shown through the philosophy of the Grand Inquisitor. The final step, the story of the Grand Inquisitor, obscures the anxiety of the earlier equation between Turkish and Russian barbarity. We can thus use Pamuk's falsification of a Turkish subtext to reveal Dostoevsky's political anxieties, even though the literary trick that supposedly hid them is imaginary. In this reading, it appears that Dostoevsky projects his concerns about Russia onto Turkey and universal humanity, decontextualizing and recontextualizing them to distance their threat.

Turkey becomes Dostoevsky's vehicle for these anxieties. This was natural in the historical context of the Russo-Turkish wars over Ottoman-held Slavic territories,

continued on page 25

The Institute of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, University of California at Berkeley  
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## THE CAUCASUS: CULTURE, HISTORY, POLITICS

Friday, March 4, 2005  
Heyns Room, Faculty Club, UC Berkeley Campus

Free and open to the public

9:30 a.m. Introductory remarks

Yuri Slezkine, professor of history and ISEEEES director, UC Berkeley

Panel I – 10 a.m. to 12 noon      ***Culture: Languages, Literatures, Religions***

Chair: Olga Matich, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, UC Berkeley

Harsha Ram, professor of Slavic languages and literature, UC Berkeley

Erik R. Scott, Ph.D. candidate, Department of History, UC Berkeley

Edward Walker, associate adjunct professor of political science, UC Berkeley

12 noon to 1 p.m. Lunch break

Panel II – 1 p.m. to 3 p.m.      ***History: Nations, States, Empires***

Chair: Victoria Bonnell, professor of sociology, UC Berkeley

Stephan Astourian, assistant adjunct professor of history, UC Berkeley

Daniel Brower, professor of history, UC Davis

Robert Crews, assistant professor of history, Stanford University

Panel III – 3:15 p.m. to 5:15 p.m.      ***Politics: Internal, External, Global***

Chair: Mary Dakin, lecturer in political science and CREEES associate director, Stanford University

John Dunlop, senior fellow, Hoover Institution

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, associate director and research fellow, Center on Democracy, Development, and Rule of Law, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

Andrei P. Tsygankov, assistant professor of political science, San Francisco State University

5:15 p.m. Closing remarks and reception

For more information, please contact ISEEEES at (510) 642-3230, [iseees@berkeley.edu](mailto:iseees@berkeley.edu), or  
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/berk-stan.html>.

## Odessa, continued from page 8

unknown to him—a Jewish milieu, but very different than the one from which he came.

Criminal activity exploded in the Moldavanka with the collapse of the tsarist regime. The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the ensuing four-year absence of stable leadership triggered a general state of anarchy, particularly in the Empire's periphery. Odessa experienced a violent change in government at least three times; Ukrainian nationalists, foreign interventionists, the White Army, and the Bolsheviks all struggled for power. Chaos reigned in Odessa's streets, and Odessa swarmed with criminals who sought to exploit the instability.

Out of the chaos of Civil War—era Odessa there was one Jewish gangster in particular who emerged as the unchallenged king of the Moldavanka. Born Moisei (Moishe) Vinnitskii and later nicknamed Mishka Yaponchik (Mike the Jap), this bandit's escapades were infamous throughout Odessa.<sup>55</sup> Babel, who never met Yaponchik personally, subsequently used him as his prototype for Benya Krik. Although Yaponchik's ascendancy in war-torn Odessa was ephemeral, few first-hand accounts of Revolutionary Odessa fail to mention him and his army of criminals that dominated the streets before Soviet power was firmly entrenched.<sup>56</sup> Soviet jazzman Leonid Utesov served as Yaponchik's most prolific "biographer"; he knew him personally and witnessed many of his activities. Utesov insists that "Mishka Yaponchik did not have Benya Krik's romantic qualities."<sup>57</sup> Yet the Yaponchik who is depicted in most of these memoirs—including Utesov's—is a romantic hero, characterized by bravery, a sense of social justice, and an eccentric personality that is emblematic of old Odessa.

Very little is known about Yaponchik, particularly his life in the pre-Revolutionary period.<sup>58</sup> Leonid Utesov's recent biographer insists that as early as 1905, Yaponchik—merely fourteen years old—was already renowned and even feared in Odessa for his physical strength and his impudence toward social conventions.<sup>59</sup> But the young Jewish hoodlum, according to this author, achieved legendary status for participating in the Jewish self-defense forces that were organized in response to the violent pogroms of 1903–05.<sup>60</sup> Yaponchik possibly served in the Russo-Japanese War and then, according to Yaponchik himself, spent 10 years in a tsarist prison.<sup>61</sup> He returned to Odessa following the collapse of tsarism and the Provisional Government's general amnesty of 1917.<sup>62</sup> Within a short while, Yaponchik would go from relative obscurity to legendary status.

During the Civil War, Yaponchik allegedly became the leader of organized crime in the Moldavanka. Various memoirists describe him and his army of bandits as powerful, brave, and romantic heroes. Nadezhda Ulanovskaia, who lived next door to Yaponchik's "headquarters," insists that he commanded over 30,000

criminals.<sup>63</sup> Leonid Utesov describes the extent of his power:

Courageous, enterprising, he held within his grasp all of Odessa's criminals and ruffians. Had he lived in America he would have undoubtedly had a great career, even treading into the world of Al Capone, the celebrated gangster from New York.<sup>64</sup>

Yaponchik commanded absolute loyalty from his army. When Soviet Power was established in Odessa and Yaponchik apparently decided to support the new regime, his troops enthusiastically endorsed his plan and were ready to follow him into battle. Utesov, who was present at this decisive assembly of gangsters, depicts this fervent allegiance with irony and perhaps some exaggeration.

Yaponchik: "Brothers! They [the Bolsheviks] have put their trust in us, and we must hold the [Bolshevik] flag high."

Yaponchik's followers: "Mishka! You hold the sack and we will pour in the potatoes."<sup>65</sup>

Like Benya Krik, Mishka Yaponchik had the wherewithal to control legions of followers.

If Odessa's chaotic war-torn environment imbued the city's inhabitants with fear and panic, such a state of disorder invigorated the Jewish gangsters, giving them a sense of invincibility and a yearning to make Odessa their personal pleasure palace. Konstantin Paustovsky describes the emergence of the gangsters from their depths in the underworld:

Three thousand bandits from the slums of Moldavanka with Mishka the Jap at their head, looted half-heartedly. They were sated with fabulous loot from their previous raids. All they wanted was to relax from this strenuous occupation. They cracked jokes more than they pillaged, they crowded the night-clubs, singing the heart-rending lay of Vera Kholodnaya's death.<sup>66</sup>

With banditry and vice enveloping the whole city, the gangsters were able to unwind, to enjoy the anarchy. They were no longer merely the rulers of the Moldavanka; Odessa was theirs to be had at a leisurely pace.

Despite his notoriety, Yaponchik is not depicted as a violent, cold-blooded thug. Like Benya Krik, he is imagined as a leader with a sense of social justice, intelligence, and an aura of respectability. According to Utesov, Yaponchik compelled his army to loot according to a strict moral code: doctors, lawyers, and "artists" were off limits—they were to be left in peace.<sup>67</sup> Abraham T'homi, who out of fear and hatred of bandits organized a neighborhood self-defense force, nevertheless respected Yaponchik, since the latter helped those in need. T'homi insists that

unlike other *naletchiki* [robbers] who were mainly bandits, Mishka Yaponchik used the loot



not only to maintain himself and his army of supporters in style; he would stockpile food and medicines and distribute them free to the poor. We all hated the naletchiki but we couldn't help liking Mishka Yaponchik.<sup>68</sup>

Yaponchik is also portrayed as a gentleman, treating his wife with dignity and respect. Nadezhda Ulanovskaia describes her as “a well-cared for lady [*barynia*]; she always rode with him in their carriage. She never went about on foot.”<sup>69</sup> Ulanovskaia's family became good friends with the Yaponchiks, and they enjoyed spending time together. Ulanovskaia writes that “we were flattered to know him, and Mishka was flattered to get together with my husband, spending time among those he regarded as respectable people.”<sup>70</sup> Yaponchik was thus a respected member of the community who earned the admiration of those around him.

Yaponchik is portrayed as someone who understood that power is about more than mere physical strength. He was skilled in using the art of public spectacle and performance to his advantage. According to Utesov, Yaponchik “loved to lead his army through the streets of Odessa. He led the way, riding a gray mare. At his side stood his adjutant and advisor Meyer Gersh-Gundosyi. Blind in one eye, red-bearded, and riding a red stallion.”<sup>71</sup> After deciding to support the Bolsheviks, Yaponchik called a meeting of all the city's thieves and gangsters to present his proposal to fight for Soviet power. Utesov attended this event, since “the artists of Odessa all knew Yaponchik personally” and were thus invited to hear his speech.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps he recognized the important role that artists can play in constructing and disseminating popular images of public figures. Yaponchik also took his campaign for positive self-representation to the media. Reacting to charges of banditry, he submitted a letter to the major newspapers of Odessa, in which he justifies his often-violent activities and affirms his commitment to the Bolshevik Revolution.<sup>73</sup> Like Benya Krik, Yaponchik is an articulate writer, and he comes off as being a bandit with an education. Whether such a representation of Yaponchik is illusory or not, he clearly understood the value of fashioning an image of himself that would buttress his social standing among those who counted in Revolutionary Odessa.<sup>74</sup>

Mishka Yaponchik and Benya Krik are depicted as powerful men who possess many attributes regarded as uncharacteristic of East European Jewish identity and behavior. They are accomplished criminals, extravagantly wealthy, full of vitality, pleasure-seeking, and, most significantly, they are not afraid to use violence to defend their interests. In many respects resembling the Cossacks of *Red Cavalry* more than the Jews of the shtetl, the Jews of New Russia were often seen as barely Jewish, as heathens who, for all intents and purposes, had discarded their Jewishness. It was commonly said during the late nineteenth century that “seven miles around Odessa burn the fires of hell” (*zibn mayl arum Odes brent der gihenum*),

alluding to the irreverence and decadence of the city's sinful population.<sup>75</sup> In *Red Cavalry*, Babel relates a tongue-in-cheek exchange between the narrator and Rebbe Motale:

“From where has the Jew come?” he asked, raising his eyelids.

“Odessa,” I replied

“A pious city,” the rebbe said suddenly, with extraordinary vigour. “The star of our banishment, the involuntary well of our tribulations.”<sup>76</sup>

Piety was never associated with Odessan Jewry, and this land of debauchery hardly served as a shining beacon of Judaism in the Ashkenazi Diaspora.

Some Odessan Jewish residents themselves saw gangsterism as a path toward *de-jewishization*. Saul Borovoi, a historian who lived in Odessa during Yaponchik's ascendancy, insists that Mishka's army of robbers “who under normal circumstances were for the most part Jews, now conducted themselves quite differently.”<sup>77</sup> Borovoi then goes on to discuss how Yaponchik's troops ruthlessly assaulted anyone suspected of organizing a pogrom. Despite Yaponchik's involvement in the physical defense of the Jewish community, the implication is that violence and banditry are fundamentally incompatible with a Jewish identity.

The question is thus raised as to whether a Jew who adopts certain ostensibly non-Jewish qualities transforms into a Gentile. Certain activities considered alien to the Jew, including gangsterism, are seen as fantastically uncharacteristic—as something novel to be admired for its originality and perhaps smiled at for its improbability.<sup>78</sup> A common trope in Jewish history and literature, for example, is the implausibility of a Jew riding a horse. While traveling through the USSR, Australian author Judah Waten overheard someone say, “A Jew on horseback isn't a Jew. And the horse isn't a horse.”<sup>79</sup> The notion that a Jew cannot ride a horse has great significance, particularly in Russia, where pogroms often meant an attack by mighty Cossacks from the commanding heights of their great stallions against helpless horseless Jews.<sup>80</sup> In Russia, the image of an inept Jew failing to ride a horse stretches back at least to the eighteenth century, when Grigorii Potemkin, in accordance with Catherine the Great's integrationist policy toward the Empire's diverse subjects, attempted to organize a regiment of Jewish Cossacks to be known as the “Israelovskii” regiment. The result was a complete farce. One witness reported that “we already had a squadron with us, and it occasioned me endless amusement. They resembled nothing so much as monkeys, what with their beards descending to their knees, their short stirrups, and the terror they showed at being on horseback.”<sup>81</sup> Potemkin's plan was abandoned, and the Jew and the horse thus remained discursively dichotomous.

The tension surrounding the Jew on horseback resurfaces in Babel's writings and in images of Mishka

Yaponchik. In *Red Cavalry*, the Jewish narrator struggles to become a Cossack, which is represented by the ability to gracefully ride a horse. At first he is completely unsuccessful: “with that devilish stride he carried me out of the ranks, I would become separated from the squadron and, deprived of my sense of direction, I would wander around in search of my unit for whole days and nights thereafter, end up in the enemy line....” Behind his back, the Cossacks ridicule his ineptitude, and he remains “alone among these men, whose friendship I had not succeeded in obtaining.” With tremendous effort, the narrator finally masters his horse; “my dream was fulfilled. The Cossacks stopped following me and my horse with their eyes.” He has become one with the Cossacks.<sup>82</sup> In *Odessa Stories*, however, the Jew on horseback is a common site. The prostitute Lyubka, “the Cossack,” is seen “galloping round her stone quarries, drinking tea with Jews at the Bear Inn, buying contraband at the harbour....”<sup>83</sup> In the Soviet film *Benya Krik* all the notable gangsters, recently won over to the Bolshevik cause, ride around nimbly on their horses, preparing to do battle. Various authors also depict Mishka Yaponchik on horseback.<sup>84</sup> The Odessan poet Don-Aminado describes how Yaponchik, now commander of a Bolshevik division, rides in and “abruptly turns his horse and barks out [orders], as all liberators do.”<sup>85</sup> On horseback, Yaponchik is in charge. The Jew has mastered the horse and has taken one giant step toward power and leadership.

But the metaphorical Jew on horseback does not always become a Gentile, and engaging in illegal activities and perpetrating violence are not necessarily incompatible with being Jewish. New Russia’s tough Jews are often portrayed as people who can remain Jewish in their identity and in their Judaic practices. In *The Story of a Life: Years of Hope*, Paustovsky describes a Hassidic gentleman he observed on the streets of Odessa during the Civil War.<sup>86</sup> The man, who appears to be a *tsaddik* [scholar], is described as devout, in full Hassidic costume, and wearing the stereotypically-Jewish “thick spectacles.” Even though he appears to be the “very embodiment of mildness and non-resistance to evil,” the *tsaddik* has no problem using violence against an aggressor, almost effortlessly striking a young man who tried shoving his way into a line. He forcefully defends his territory, and in less than the blink of an eye, he returns to his universe of piety, reading his “small black book with the Star of David embroidered in gold on the cover.” Looks are not what they appear to be in Odessa, and Hasidism need not be the antithesis of physical power.

Despite the many physical similarities between the Jewish gangsters of *Odessa Stories* and the Cossacks of *Red Cavalry*, Benya Krik and his gang remain Jewish. Krik exudes an awareness of his cultural origins and transforms his Jewishness into a source of empowerment.<sup>87</sup> In “How It Was Done in Odessa,” he signs one of his patent letters of extortion with his Hebrew name “Bentsion,” instead of

using either “Viniamin” (the common Russian variant) or one of its Yiddish diminutives such as Benya, Benchik, or Bentse.<sup>88</sup> Literally meaning “son of Zion,” the name evokes images of a Zionist fighter who is struggling to emancipate his people, thereby negating centuries of Jewish victimization and overturning the prevailing representation of the East European Jew as an impoverished and brutalized Yiddish-speaking shtetl dweller. Benya reveals his Jewish heritage elsewhere using his oratorical skills in one of *Odessa Stories*’ more humorous passages:

The nervous Solomon packed a suitcase full of money, securities, watches and monograms, the nowdeceased Iosif stood in front of him with his hands raised, and Benya meanwhile related stories from the life of the Jewish people.<sup>89</sup>

Jewishness and criminal activity are thus consciously associated with each other, and the empowered Jewish bandit is for once on the giving side of intimidation and oppression.<sup>90</sup>

Jewishness, however, does not always imply piety. Jewish institutions and Judaic practices are often used as tools to conduct criminal activity in an environment that is secure from outside intervention. In *Odessa Stories*, the gangsters use a bogus Jewish funeral procession to retaliate against pogromists. When “the procession reached the Sloboda Cemetery...our Moldavanka boys took a machine-gun out of the coffin and began to spray the Sloboda hoods with bullets.”<sup>91</sup> In the film *Benya Krik*, the gangsters are bribed with money hidden inside precious and beautifully embroidered Torah scrolls. In a parody of a sacred synagogue ritual, Froim Grach takes the Torah, and as he slowly unwinds its parchment containing the hallowed words of God, tsarist rubles come tumbling out. Judaism is thus an expedient instrument for swindlers and gangsters to achieve their sought after hegemony in southern Russia.<sup>92</sup>

Benya Krik’s Jewishness also comes out in his approach toward crime. Extortion letters and public speeches as well as a restrained use of violence suggest a man of intelligence, even wisdom. Acts of robbery and the threat of coercion do not in themselves make Benya into a king. Rather, his skillful execution of a well thought out plan does the job. *Odessa Stories* is filled with uninhibited violent thugs, including Benya’s father Mendel Krik and the soon-to-be executed gangster Savellii Butsis, but only the methodical Benya Krik becomes the leader of his Jewish community. Benya is also a shrewd businessman, successfully accruing wealth with little effort. Not wasting his time with trivial affairs, he always seeks out and robs the biggest fish in the sea. His decision to extort Eykhbaum—one of the richest Jews in Odessa—and his ability to pull it off without human bloodshed illustrate his astuteness. Intelligence and entrepreneurship are often considered hallmarks of Jewishness, and possessing both, Benya Krik becomes the king of Odessan Jewry.

It would thus be incorrect to argue that the gangsters of Odessa are the antithesis of *Red Cavalry's* shtetl Jews. Both groups exhibit Jewish identities in their speech, mannerisms, and practices, albeit in different ways and with different results. Whereas in the shtetl, Jewishness leads to passivity and eternal victimization, in Odessa it is a source of enrichment, empowerment, and protection against an often belligerent Gentile world. Some of the gangsters are even described as being able to exploit the inferior status of the Jew in tsarist Russia to their advantage. The horse thieves whom Petr Garvi encounters in prison are a case in point. In the event of being convicted for his alleged crimes, one of the bandits plans on telling his wife and children that he is really innocent of the whole affair, but has been falsely convicted because of Russia's rabid anti-Semitism ("a esli zasudiat, to kak evreia—vsegda vinovat").<sup>93</sup> But the real test came more than a decade later, when the onset of revolution and civil war compelled both the shtetl Jews and the Odessan gangsters to face the colossal challenge of effectively responding and adapting to Russia's latest wave of upheaval. Babel's shtetl Jews did not succeed; they could not gain control of the situation. On the other hand, the mythologized gangsters met this challenge head on and, at least for a time, remained ascendant with their Jewish background playing an auspicious role.

Images of Mishka Yaponchik suggest that the gangstering shrewdly manipulated his political identity using both his Jewish background and his alleged class consciousness to his advantage. Yaponchik supposedly played a critical role in defending the Jews of the Moldavanka against pogroms during the Civil War, particularly those provoked by Denikin's Volunteer Army, which laid siege to Odessa in 1919.<sup>94</sup> The Odessan Jewish defense forces that were organized by local Zionists saw in Yaponchik a key ally, regardless of his true intentions. Abraham T'homi writes that

at headquarters they weren't sure what Mishka Yaponchik's true motives were. He could have figured that the Whites were going to start a blood-bath anyway and decided to beat them to the punch.... And if they succeeded in crushing Mishka Yaponchik's resistance, they would drown Odessa in Jewish blood. We now realized that no matter what Mishka Yaponchik's intentions were, our self-defense group was in the same boat with him.<sup>95</sup>

Yaponchik was thus accepted by the Zionists as an important defender of the Jews in war-torn Odessa. Even though Yaponchik never declared himself to be a fighter for the Jewish cause, his position as "king" and his predominantly Jewish power base suggest some strategic planning on his part. Rather than attempting to disappear with his wealth into Gentile society, Yaponchik the gangster stayed in the Moldavanka to fight the marauders whom Babel's shtetl Jews could not resist.

While nobody has gone so far as to call Yaponchik a Jewish freedom fighter or a Zionist, he has been heralded as a revolutionary on the extreme left, fighting for a just society. Various authors portray Yaponchik as a veritable Robin Hood, robbing from the rich and giving to the poor.<sup>96</sup> T'homi insists that Yaponchik was an Anarchist and, accordingly, "he took the revolution literally—everything belonged to the people."<sup>97</sup> But when Soviet power came to Odessa in 1919, Yaponchik joined forces with the Bolsheviks. Utesov describes how "Mishka went to the city's Executive Committee with an offer to organize a regiment from among his criminals, who wished to re-forge themselves into new men. The Soviet authorities believed him and gave Mishka permission to do as he wished."<sup>98</sup> It is unclear whether Yaponchik joined the Bolshevik cause out of idealism or out of sheer political calculation. Economic motives may have also been behind Yaponchik's quest for legitimacy under the new regime. Don-Aminado sardonically describes how Yaponchik's army—the "privileged class" of Odessa—was given plush red curtains from the city's opera house, while the rest of the population survived by meager ration cards.<sup>99</sup> Although one may question the utility of acquiring lavish drapery during wartime, signing up for the Bolshevik cause gave Yaponchik and his men an opportunity to perpetuate both their power on the street and their opulence at home.<sup>100</sup>

Yaponchik's self-portrayal suggests a man who is a shrewd political player, skilled in adapting his public image to match up with the ideological foundations of Soviet power. In his letter to the press, he presents himself in such a way that would be pleasing to the Bolsheviks, yet also agreeable to the Jews of Odessa. Yaponchik repeatedly insists that he is fighting for the cause of the poor, robbing *only* the bourgeois capitalist exploiters. Against charges of banditry, he asks to be judged by the workers and peasants, the vanguard of the Revolution:

I place myself before the court of workers and peasants, the revolutionary laborers from whom I am waiting an honest evaluation of my activities against the terror of the enemies of the working class [*na strakh vragam trudiashchikhsva naroda*]...<sup>101</sup>

Yaponchik is speaking the language of Bolshevism, clearly demonstrating a familiarity with revolutionary discourse. He never mentions that he is Jewish or that he is fighting for the emancipation of Russian Jewry. Nevertheless, he subtly weaves his Jewishness into this text. On two occasions he mentions his participation in the struggle against pogromists, in one instance coordinating his activities with the "Jewish armed detachment" (*Evreiskaia boevaia družina*).<sup>102</sup> Yet even his defense of New Russia's Jews is described through a Bolshevik lens: he offers his manpower to prevent pogroms in "the working class districts," never suggesting that anything other than class consciousness was fueling his drive to help the unfortunate Jewish victims.<sup>103</sup> Any doubt over Yaponchik's own Jewish



background is dispelled when he signs this letter “Moisei Vinnitskii under the alias of Mishka Yaponchik.”<sup>104</sup> “Moisei,” the Russianized variant of Moïshe, is always a Jewish name, and given the fact that he was better known throughout Odessa as Mishka Yaponchik, its usage is entirely gratuitous. In an era when using a revolutionary pseudonym was standard practice, Yaponchik consciously chose to reveal in print his given name and, by extension, his Jewish background. Yaponchik’s imagined self is thus a loyal Soviet soldier who is protecting the Jews of Russia within the framework of a workers’ revolution.

Yaponchik’s true motives will probably never be known, and this ambiguity is captured in the various representations of him. Abraham T’homî aptly sums up the Jewish gangster’s elusiveness in his memoirs:

Exciting news! The Whites were fleeing, and the Mayor of Odessa was negotiating the surrender of the city to the Bolsheviks.

We were relieved, but our joy was somewhat marred. It wasn’t our self-defense group that prevented the bloodbath, it was Mishka Yaponchik who did it. Mishka Yaponchik—the anarchist, the *naletchik*, the boss of the Moldavanka underworld. And we didn’t even know whether he defied the Whites because he wanted to defend the Jews of Odessa, or because he was in league with the Bolsheviks.<sup>105</sup>

Perhaps an accurate reconstruction of the gangsters’ true motives and beliefs is not really important. What is most significant is that the Jewish gangsters are depicted as shrewd actors, men of deed and exploitation, who were not passively decimated by the revolutionary upheaval then engulfing their surroundings. Rather, they seized control of their environment and achieved their desired ends, through violence but also through intellect, through acts of unquestionable depravity yet with an ostentatious code of morality.

Representations of the Jewish underworld, however, suggest that the Revolution ultimately devoured the gangsters and their inner sanctuary, Odessa’s Moldavanka district. Like the shtetl Jews of *Red Cavalry*, the armies of Benya Krik and Mishka Yaponchik are unable to find space in the nascent Soviet order for their distinct ways of life; the forces of modernization do not need such outmoded remnants of tsarist Russia. Yet even in death there are fundamental differences between these two imagined Jewish communities. In *Red Cavalry* Babel depicts the tragic demise of Il’ya Bratslavskii, the dissident son of Rebbe Motale who was divested of his inheritance because of his revolutionary activity. Yearning to find a place for Judaism in the revolutionary order, he joins the Bolsheviks. Shortly thereafter, Bratslavskii falls in battle. But his death is hardly that of a hero. Babel depicts Bratslavskii’s final pathetic moments:

His bare knees, as clumsy as an old woman’s bumped against the rusty iron of the steps; two plump-breasted typists in sailor’s jackets dragged the long, shy body of the dying man along the floor.... The girls... coldly observed his sexual parts, the wilted curly virility of a Semite worn to a shadow... He died before we got to Rovno.... We buried him at a forgotten station. And I—who am barely able to accommodate the storms of my imaginations within my ancient body—I received my brother’s last breath.<sup>106</sup>

Bratslavskii’s death is as pitiful as the shtetl from which he came. With lifeless genitals, the emasculated Jew is laid to rest in an unmarked grave, his name and his culture forgotten to history.

Like Il’ya Bratslavskii, the Odessan gangster erroneously envisioned a place for the world he represented in Soviet society. Both Mishka Yaponchik and Babel’s bandits decided to “go legal”: they offered to support the Bolsheviks, and in return they expected to have a bright future as Jews with power in a socialist state. When the Revolution turned against them, they fell. But unlike the shtetl Jew, the gangster did not perish in obscurity, as a nameless corpse discarded by the Revolution. Assassinated by the Cheka in 1919 while commanding his army outside of Odessa, Mishka Yaponchik was allegedly given a first-class funeral nearby in the town of Voznesensk. A recent article in a Ukrainian newspaper depicts Yaponchik’s memorial, reconstructing it as a spectacular event replete with all the pomp and splendor due to a king:

The celebrated cantor Pinia Min’kovskii from the choral synagogue and soloists from the opera theatre read the burial service of Commander [*Kompolk*] Vinnitskii. The king of the bandits is dead, but his legend lives on to this day.<sup>107</sup>

Thus, even in death Yaponchik is emblematic of New Russia’s imagined Jewish culture. The gangster-king is awarded a lavish funeral with all the trappings enjoyed by a secularized and affluent community that celebrated its bandits.

Yaponchik was not subsequently forgotten; his name is preserved in Odessan Jewish folklore, immortalized as the righteous gangster his contemporaries imagined him to be. Abraham T’homî describes Yaponchik’s quick transition from living legend to fabled fallen hero:

One day as I was walking in the street I heard a plaintive folk singer with an accordion.... The folk singer, an old man with a wizened face, was singing about a just man whose name was Mishenka (Mishka Yaponchik was affectionately known in Odessa as “Mishenka”). Mishenka, the old folk singer sang, robbed the rich and gave to the poor. He was a good man. But bitter was his end. Mishenka had “rolled” into the hands of the Cheka, and he “never came back.”<sup>108</sup>



In *Odessa Stories*, Babel captures the Jewish gangster's posthumous mythologization with the execution of Froim Grach, one of Benya Krik's principal sidekicks. After the Bolsheviks turn against the gangsters and kill Krik along with many of his troops, Froim Grach approaches the Cheka, hoping to reach some sort of compromise with the Soviet regime. Though unarmed, Grach is nevertheless shot by a Cheka agent, who insists that there is no "use" for such a man in the new order. But a native-Odessan Chekist disagrees and becomes visibly distraught over Grach's execution, avowing to his colleague that "you're not an Odessan, you can't understand what the old man represented."<sup>109</sup> The Odessan Chekist then takes it upon himself to disseminate the legend of Froim Grach and the world he represented:

He pulled himself together and chased away his memories. Then, livening up, he continued telling the Chekists who had come from Moscow about the life of Froim Grach, about his ingenuity, his elusiveness, his contempt for his fellow men, all the amazing tales that were now a thing of the past.<sup>110</sup>

The Revolution may have obliterated Mishka Yaponchik's underworld of Jews, but their physical destruction does not signify their ultimate demise: Mishka Yaponchik, Froim Grach, and the other rulers of the Moldavanka were subsequently immortalized as folk heroes in literature and in song.

Isaac Babel invented the mighty Benya Krik and his Odessan underworld as a means of empowering the East European Jew, who is otherwise portrayed as weak, steeped in tradition, and perpetually victimized by the surrounding Gentiles. Reading *Odessa Stories* alongside *Red Cavalry* demonstrates the plausibility of this argument. Babel, however, was not alone in this endeavor; both his predecessors and contemporaries used similar techniques to overturn the prevailing image of the fragile shtetl inhabited by embattled Jews. In the shtetl's wake they constructed a very different Jewish community: a world of banditry and revelry, where the Jew could control his own destiny, yet remain no less Jewish than his shtetl-bound cousin.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Patricia Herlihy, *Odessa: A History, 1794–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Catherine the Great founded *Novorossia* in 1764. Later it was subdivided into 4 *gubernii*: Kherson (which included Odessa), Ekaterinoslav, Taurida, and Bessarabia.

<sup>3</sup> Herlihy, 235.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Weinberg, *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa: Blood on the Steps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 52.

<sup>5</sup> Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794–1881* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Weinberg, 18–19.

<sup>9</sup> As late as 1892, only 38.5 percent of Odessa's Jews had been born in the city. Nearly a century after its founding, Odessa remained a city of immigrants. See Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa*, 32.

<sup>10</sup> For the pre-Revolutionary era, see, for instance, Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). On crime in Odessa, specifically, see Roshanna P. Sylvester, "City of Thieves: Moldavanka, Criminality, and Respectability in Pre-Revolutionary Odessa," *Journal of Urban History* 27:2 (January 2001): 131–157. On the Soviet period see Eric Naiman, *Sex in Public: The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Nora Levin, *The Jews of the Soviet Union Since 1917: Paradox of Survival*, Vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 1988). Levin's second chapter is titled "Jews in the Cross Fire of War and the Bolshevik Struggle for Power, 1914–21," a clear indication of her historical assumption of the Jew as passive victim.

<sup>12</sup> Steven Zipperstein writes that "Nazi horrors and tsarist pogroms meshed in the often sparse, repetitive narratives that Jews tended to tell about this vast, complex region. The distance between life in Vilna and death in Treblinka tended to narrow in such accounts, as if these were mere differences in detail, not substance." Steven J. Zipperstein, *Imagining Russian Jewry: Memory, History, Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> Isaac Babel, *1920 Diary*, trans. H. T. Willetts, ed. Carol J. Avins (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 29.

<sup>14</sup> Isaac Babel, "The theory of Tachanka," *The Collected Stories*, trans. and ed. Walter Morison (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1955), 129.

<sup>15</sup> Babel, *1920 Diary*, 94.

<sup>16</sup> Babel, "Gedali," in *Collected Stories*, 117.

<sup>17</sup> Babel, *1920 Diary*, 95.

<sup>18</sup> Isaac Babel, "The Rebbe," in *Collected Stories*, 124.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>20</sup> Babel, *1920 Diary*, 63. Bogdan Khmel'nitsky led a Cossack rebellion against Polish rule in central Ukraine in the mid-seventeenth century. During his revolt, the Cossacks slaughtered many thousands of Jews.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>22</sup> Isaac Babel, "The Cemetery in Kozin," in *Collected Stories*, 150.

<sup>23</sup> Isaac Babel, "My First Goose," in *Collected Stories*, 119.

<sup>24</sup> Babel, *1920 Diary*, 26.

- <sup>25</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup> Babel, "My First Goose," 119.
- <sup>27</sup> Babel, *1920 Diary*, 31.
- <sup>28</sup> Babel, "The Rebbe," 124.
- <sup>29</sup> Babel, "Gedali," 116.
- <sup>30</sup> Lionel Trilling, "Introduction," in Babel, *Collected Stories*, 356.
- <sup>31</sup> A. N. Pirozhkova, *At His Side: The Last Years of Isaac Babel*, trans. Anne Frydman and Robert L. Busch (South Royalton, VT: Steerforth Press, 1996), 19–34.
- <sup>32</sup> Vladimir Kantorovich, "Babel' rasskazyvaet a Betale Kalmykov," in *Vospominaniia o Babele*, ed. A. N. Pirozhkova and N. N. Iurgeneva (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "kizhnaia palata", 1989).
- <sup>33</sup> Konstantin Paustovsky, *The Story of a Life: Years of Hope*, trans. Manya Harari and Andre Thomson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 118.
- <sup>34</sup> Isaac Babel, "Froim Grach," in *The Complete Works of Isaac Babel*, ed. Nathalie Babel, trans. Peter Constantine (New York: Norton, 2002), 173. Froim Grach was written later than the other *Odessa Stories*. It was not published until after Babel's death.
- <sup>35</sup> Isaac Babel, "How it was Done in Odessa," in *Collected Stories*, 244.
- <sup>36</sup> Isaac Babel, "The Father," in *Collected Stories*, 273.
- <sup>37</sup> Babel, "How It Was Done in Odessa," 241.
- <sup>38</sup> Babel, "The King," 241.
- <sup>39</sup> Babel, "How It Was Done in Odessa," 250; Isaak Babel', "Kak eto delalos' v Odesse," *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia Literatura, 1991): 1, 134.
- <sup>40</sup> Isaac Babel, "Justice in Brackets," 255.
- <sup>41</sup> The term "judeo-kleptocracy" is my own.
- <sup>42</sup> Babel, "How it was Done in Odessa," in *Collected Stories*, 249.
- <sup>43</sup> Babel, "The King," 238.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., 243.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid., "The King," 239.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>47</sup> Babel, "How It Was Done in Odessa," 245. Krik is thus an ironic choice for his name, since the Russian word means "scream."
- <sup>48</sup> Babel, "Justice in Brackets," 256.
- <sup>49</sup> Babel, "How It Was Done in Odessa," 249.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., 251. The Brody Synagogue was the synagogue for wealthy Jews in Odessa. It had been founded by *Maskilim* (followers of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment) from Galicia, who settled in Odessa. See Zipperstein, *Jews of Odessa*, 56–61. Billed as a modern and progressive synagogue, it was apparently the only one in the Russian Empire to have services accompanied by an organ—something that was frowned upon by those practicing more traditional Judaism. Saul Borovoi, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Evreiskii Universitet v Moskve; Jerusalem: Gesharim, 1993), 28.
- <sup>51</sup> See Sylvester.
- <sup>52</sup> See Neuberger.
- <sup>53</sup> Petr A. Garvi, *Vospominaniia sotsial-demokrata* (New York: Fond po izd. literaturnogo nasledstva P. A. Garvi, 1946), 240.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid., 241.
- <sup>55</sup> The origins of Vinnitskii's nickname are uncertain. Leonid Utesov suggests that he was called Yaponchik because of his slanting eyes. Abraham T'homi insists that Vinnitskii derived his nickname because he fought in the Russo-Japanese War and subsequently brought home a Japanese wife. It is worth noting that Vinnitskii did not have a monopoly on this nickname. In February 1919, a criminal of alleged infamy, known as Kol'ka Yaponets was arrested in Odessa. His ethnic origins are uncertain, as his family name was Kazachenko. See Leonid Utesov, *S pesnei po zhizni* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe isdatelstvo, 1961), 84; Abraham T'homi, *Between Darkness & Dawn: A Saga of the Hehalutz* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co. Inc., 1986), 77; *Odesskaia pochta* (15 February 1919): 3.
- <sup>56</sup> The only memoir I came across that depicts Civil War-era Odessa without discussing Yaponchik is Valentin Kataev, *The Grass of Oblivion*, trans. Robert Daglish (London: MacMillan, 1969).
- <sup>57</sup> Leonid Utesov, "My rodilis' po sosedstvu," in *Vospominaniia o Babele*, 183.
- <sup>58</sup> Boris Briker is the only scholar who has compiled a brief sketch in English of Yaponchik's life. Boris Briker, "The Underworld of Benya Krik and I. Babel's Odessa Stories," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* (1994): 129–131.
- <sup>59</sup> Vladimir Akimov, *Leonid Utesov* (Moscow: Olimp, 1999), 63–64.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., 76.
- <sup>61</sup> T'homi, 77. Yaponchik insists that he was in prison for "Revolutionary Activity." See Vladimir Margulies, *Ognennye gody: materialy i dokumenty po istorii grazhdanskoi voiny na iuge rossii* (Berlin: Manfred, 1923), 179–180.
- <sup>62</sup> Margulies, 179–180.
- <sup>63</sup> Nadezhda and Maiia Ulanovskaia, *Istoriia odnoi sem'ii* (New York: Chalidze Publications, 1982), 45.
- <sup>64</sup> Leonid Utesov, *Spasibo serdtse* (Moscow: Vargius, 1999), 131–132.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., 133.
- <sup>66</sup> Konstantin Paustovsky, *In that Dawn*, trans. Manya Harari and Michael Duncan (London: Harwill Press), 205.

<sup>67</sup> Utesov, *Spasibo serdtse*, 133. It is tempting to argue that Yaponchik respected these professions because they are considered to be predominantly Jewish, but there is no evidence to support such a claim.

<sup>68</sup> T'homi, 77.

<sup>69</sup> Ulanovskaia, 46.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Utesov, *Spasibo serdtse*, 133. Meyer Gersh-Gundosyi may have been Babel's inspiration for Froim Grach, who was one-eyed and had red hair.

<sup>72</sup> Utesov, *S pesnei po zhizni*, 84.

<sup>73</sup> Margulies, 179–182.

<sup>74</sup> It is worth noting that even one of Yaponchik's detractors referred to his presentation as a concert-performance (*spektakl-kontsert*). Ironically, Yaponchik's presentation took place in the city's theater. Ibid., 315.

<sup>75</sup> Zipperstein, *Jews of Odessa*, 1.

<sup>76</sup> Babel, "The Rebbe," 124. This dialogue is also an example of how Babel weaves the Yiddish language and style into his Russian writing. "From where does the Jew come" ("*Otkuda priekhal Evrei*") is semantically a Yiddish—not a Russian—idiomatic construction. In Yiddish, this expression ("*Fun vanen kumt a yid?*") is a common exchange when two Jews meet each other. Babel, "Rabbi," in *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh* (Moscow, 1991), 2, 35.

<sup>77</sup> Borovoi, 76.

<sup>78</sup> In his study of American Jewish Gangsters, Rich Cohen discusses the importance of Jewish gangsters for the self-image of the Jew. He writes that "where I grew up, it was understood: Even the most reckless Jew winds up in medical school. Well the gangsters helped me clear this trap, showing me that since the worst is possible, so is everything else. If a Jew can die in the electric chair, anything can happen." Rich Cohen, *Tough Jews* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), 21.

<sup>79</sup> Judah Waten, *From Odessa to Odessa: The Journey of an Australian Writer* (Melbourne, 1969), 197.

<sup>80</sup> In "First Love," Isaac Babel describes how the Jewish narrator's father is compelled to kneel before a Cossack on horseback during a pogrom in 1905. Isaac Babel, "First Love," in *Collected Stories*, 42–44.

<sup>81</sup> Cited in Christopher Duffy, *Russia's Military Way to the West: Origins and Nature of Russian Military Power, 1700–1800* (London, 1981), 159.

<sup>82</sup> Isaac Babel, "Argamak," *Collected Stories*, 228–233.

<sup>83</sup> Isaac Babel, "Sunset," *Collected Stories*, 282.

<sup>84</sup> Isaac Babel, *Benya Krik*, directed by V. Vilner (Brandeis, MA: The National Center for Jewish Film, 1996); Isaac Babel "Benya Krik: A Treatment for a Film," in *The Complete Works of Isaac Babel*, 934.

<sup>85</sup> Don-Aminado, *Poezd na tret'em puti* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Kniga", 1991), 223–224.

<sup>86</sup> Paustovsky, *The Story of a Life*, 39–40.

<sup>87</sup> For a discussion of Jewishness in *Odessa Stories* see also Alice Stone Nakhimovsky, *Russian-Jewish Literature and Identity: Jabotinsky, Babel, Grossman, Galich, Roziner, Markish* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), and Rachel Rubin, *Jewish Gangsters of Modern Literature* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

<sup>88</sup> Babel, "How It Was Done in Odessa," 247; Babel "Kak eto delalos' v Odesse," 130.

<sup>89</sup> Babel, "How It Was Done in Odessa," 248.

<sup>90</sup> Of course, in this passage, the victims are Jewish as well. Benya Krik has no problem extorting money from wealthy Jews.

<sup>91</sup> Babel, "How It Was Done in Odessa," 246. The Sloboda was a district in Odessa inhabited primarily by poor non-Jewish workers.

<sup>92</sup> Babel, *Benya Krik*; Babel, "Benya Krik: A Treatment for a Film," 934.

<sup>93</sup> Garvi, 214.

<sup>94</sup> Borovoi, 76.

<sup>95</sup> T'homi, 79.

<sup>96</sup> Arkadii L'vov, *Utolenie pechal'iu: opyt issledovaniia evreiskoi mental'nosti* (Pervaia kniga, 1983), 50–51; T'homi, 76.

<sup>97</sup> T'homi, 76.

<sup>98</sup> Utesov, "Moya Odessa," 137.

<sup>99</sup> Don-Aminado, 224.

<sup>100</sup> Don-Aminado's description of the drapes may be intended, of course, as a metaphor for the gangsters' opulence.

<sup>101</sup> Margulies, 182.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 182.

<sup>105</sup> T'homi, 80.

<sup>106</sup> Isaac Babel, "The Rebbe's Son," in *Collected Stories*, 226–227.

<sup>107</sup> Viktor Koval'chuk, "Polk marshiroval v tsilindrakh, potomu chto Komandoval im Mishka Yaponchik," *Segodnia: Ezhednevnaia ukrainskaia gazeta*, No. 877, Polosa 11 (8 June 2001), available at < <http://today.viaduk.net/>>. Choral synagogues were for the most part frequented only by upper-class Jews.

<sup>108</sup> T'homi, 83.

<sup>109</sup> Babel, "Froim Grach," 174.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 175.



## Bear Trek to St. Petersburg

In November 2004, the California Alumni Association Bear Treks program provided Cal Alumni with another opportunity to visit one of the world's most beautiful cities. Twenty-three alums, friends, and family challenged prospective sleet and snow to feast on such delights as Catherine's and Paul's palaces and the Hermitage. The trip was a short one—November 2 to 9—but every day was full of opportunity. Unlike the trip in 2003 in which I was fortunate to participate, the travelers could choose their own itineraries. In addition to the optional trips to the palaces and the Hermitage, there was also an optional visit to the Russian Museum. Thus, we all had great flexibility with our schedules.

The organization in charge was Alumni Holidays International. They put together the package and offered it to more universities than Cal, so we



*View of St. Petersburg*



*Gunship Aurora*

benefited by having fellow travelers from different parts of the US. The AHI travel director, Philip Ryan, added much to the trip with his deep knowledge and droll humor. In addition, there were four to five assistants helping with such diverse issues as tickets to events and reservations at restaurants. Although there were more than fifty of us, each one felt as though he or she were the center of attention.

Of course, one of the highlights of the trip was the hotel where we stayed, the Grand Hotel Europe. This beautiful structure, built in 1824, was breathtaking in its luxury and history. We felt very well treated, especially at breakfast. Besides the quantity of food and the beauty of the art deco salon, there was a skilled harpist who set a lovely mood. I think

each of us would recommend the hotel highly. Another highlight was the celebration on November 7 as "A Day of Reconciliation." This transformed holiday continues to be important to the people of St. Petersburg. It was excitedly marked by a fireworks competition that involved three series of displays that lit the sky over the Winter Palace. I think none of us will forget the sight.

Many of us took advantage of a last-minute opportunity to have a private visit to the Zoological Institute and the Komarov Botanical Institute, both in St. Petersburg. Dr. Theodore Papenfuss, a research specialist from the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at Cal has been collaborating with academician Natalia Ananjeva, the head of the Department of Vertebrate Zoology, since 1989. They were the hosts of the visit.



*Peter and Paul Fortress*



Interestingly, the institutional collaboration has involved numerous exchange visits and joint expeditions to the Caucasus, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, China, Vietnam, Iran, and Turkey. At both institutes, we were shown collections that had been gathered by Russian scientists during the early 1800s after Fort Ross was established in California in 1812.

All in all, the trip was a great success. Bear Treks once again lived up to its reputation.

Barbara Voytek, Ph.D.  
Executive Director, ISEES



*Fireworks over the Winter Palace. Photo by Gary Gregersen.*

## Degrees Awarded During 2003–2004

**Jose Alaniz** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Comparative Literature in December 2003 for his dissertation entitled “Necrorama: Spectacles of Death and Dying in Late/Post-Soviet Russian Culture.”

**Robin Brooks** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science in May 2004 for her dissertation on “Ethnic Self-Identification and Nation-Building in Post-Communist Bulgaria.”

**Matthew Jackson** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Art History in December 2003 for his dissertation entitled “Answers of the Experimental Group: Ilya Kabakov, Moscow Conceptualism, Soviet Avant-Gardes.”

**Kari Johnstone** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science in December 2003 for her dissertation entitled “Balancing Acts: Assessing International Influences on Ethnic Minority Policy in Post-Communist Slovakia and Ukraine.”

**Maria Arko Klemenc** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Music in May 2004 for her dissertation entitled “Arranging the Nation: Slovenian Choral Singing and Folk Song Arrangements.”

**Daniel Kronenfeld** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science in December 2003 for his dissertation entitled “‘This Gun is for Killing Russians...But Yuri and I are Good Friends’: Interethnic Contact and Ethnic Identity in Latvia.”

**Conor O’Dwyer** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science in December 2003 for his dissertation entitled “Runaway State-Building: How Parties Shape States in Post-Communist Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.”

**Nina Rathbun** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science in December 2003 for her dissertation entitled “Ruling the Media: The Creation of Independent Press and Broadcasting in Central and Southeastern Europe.”

**Maria Stoilkova** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Anthropology in December 2003 for her dissertation entitled “Exiles at Home and Abroad: The Bulgarian Intelligentsia in Emigration.”

**Lillian Vallee** received a Ph.D. from the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in December 2003 for her dissertation entitled “Bear with a Cross: Primordial Tradition in the Work of Czeslaw Milosz.”

**Lisa K. Walker** received a Ph.D. from the Department of History in December 2003 for her dissertation on “Public Health, Hygiene and the Rise of Preventive Medicine in Late Imperial Russia, 1874–1912.”

# Upcoming Events

*Events are subject to change. For current information on ISEEEES-sponsored events, please call (510) 642-3230.*

**Thursday, February 3, 2005.** *Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture:* Istvan Deak, Seth Low Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Columbia University, will speak on "The Post-World War II Political Purges in Europe." In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Thursday, February 17, 2005.** *Roundtable Discussion:* "The Early Years of Slavic Studies at UC Berkeley." Speakers are emeritus faculty Gregory Grossman (Economics), Joan Grossman (Slavic), David Hooson (Geography), Hugh McLean (Slavic), Robert Hughes (Slavic), Olga Hughes (Slavic), and Nicholas Riasanovsky (History). Moderated by Andrew Janos (Political Science). In the Heyns Room, Faculty Club, 2 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Saturday, February 19, 2005.** *Performance:* The St. Petersburg Ballet Theatre will perform *Giselle*. At Marin Veterans' Memorial Auditorium, 3501 Civic Center Dr, San Rafael, 8 p.m. Fees: \$25-45. Tickets from Ticketmaster, <http://www.ticketmaster.com/>, or the Marin Center Box Office, (415) 499-6800. Contact: Marin Center, (415) 499-6400.

**Thursday, February 24, 2005.** *Curator's Tour:* Alla Efimova, Chief Curator, Judah L. Magnes Museum, will speak on "Surviving Suprematism: Lazar Khidekel." At the Judah L. Magnes Museum, 2911 Russell Street, Berkeley, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Thursday–Saturday, February 24–26, 2005.** *Concert:* The San Francisco Symphony will perform works by Bartok. Thurs–Fri: at Flint Center, 21250 Stevens Creek Blvd, Cupertino, 8 p.m., \$26-52. Sat: at Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m., \$20-103. Tickets from SFS Ticket Services at (415) 864-6000 or <http://www.sf-symphony.org/>. Contact: San Francisco Symphony, <http://www.sfsymphony.org/> or (415) 552-8000.

**Saturday, February 26, 2005.** *Concert:* Kitka, women's vocal ensemble, with the Sefardic women's group Divahn. At Osher Marin Jewish Community Center, San Rafael, 8 p.m. Fees: \$30/\$25/\$15. Tickets are available through Tickets.com, <http://www.tickets.com/> or (415) 478-2277. Contact: Kitka, <http://www.kitka.org/> or (510) 444-0323.

**Thursday, March 3, 2005.** *Lunch Poems:* Eugene Ostashevsky, professor of humanities at New York University, will read his poetry. At Morrison Library, UC Berkeley, 12:10 p.m. Contact: Lunch Poems, <http://lunchpoems.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-0137.

**Thursday–Saturday, March 3–5, 2005.** *Concert:* The San Francisco Symphony will perform Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto No. 1. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco; Thurs 2 p.m., Fri–Sat 8 p.m. Fees: \$20-103. See 2/24 concert for contacts.

**Friday, March 4, 2005.** *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference:* "The Caucasus: Culture, History, Politics." See page 11 for the schedule. Sponsored by ISEEEES and the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University.

**March 4–6 & 11–13, 2005.** *Performance:* The UCB Theater Department presents Chekhov's *Three Sisters*. At Zellerbach Playhouse; 3/4, 5, 11, 12 at 8 p.m.; 3/6 at 7 p.m.; 3/13 at 2 p.m. Fees: \$14 general, \$10 UC faculty/staff, \$8 students/seniors. Tickets from TicketWeb, (866) 468-3399 or <http://www.ticketweb.com/>. Contact: Theater Department, (510) 642-9925 or <http://theater.berkeley.edu/>.

**Sunday, March 6, 2005.** *Concert:* The China Philharmonic, featuring Lang Lang, piano, will perform Bartok's *The Miraculous Mandarin* as well as music by Rimsky-Korsakov and Rachmaninoff. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 7 p.m. Fees: \$15-83. See 2/24 concert for contacts.

**Saturday, March 12, 2005.** *Concert:* Slavyanka, Men's Russian Chorus, will perform a benefit for St. John the Baptist Serbian Orthodox Church. At St. John the Baptist Serbian Orthodox Church, Turk and Baker Streets, San Francisco, 7 p.m. Fees will be announced. Contact: Slavyanka, <http://www.slavyanka.org/> or (415) 328-4121.

**Thursday, March 17, 2005.** *Lecture Series on the Balkans:* Marko Zivkovic, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Reed College, will speak on "Serbian Turbo-Epics: Genres, Intertextuality, and the Play of Ironies." In 270 Stephens Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Thursday–Saturday, March 24–26, 2005.** *Concert:* The San Francisco Symphony will perform Tchaikovsky's *Symphony No. 6 (Pathetique)*. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$20-103. See 2/24 concert for contacts.

**Saturday, March 26, 2005.** *Performance:* National Black Light Theatre of Prague. At Marin Veterans' Memorial Auditorium, 3501 Civic Center Dr, San Rafael, 3 p.m. Fees: \$28-32. Tickets are available through Ticketmaster, <http://www.ticketmaster.com/> or the Marin Center Box Office, (415) 499-6800. Contact: Marin Center, (415) 499-6400.

**Thursday, March 31, 2005.** *Fifth Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies:* Robert M. Hayden, Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh; Director, Center for Russian and East European Studies, will be our speaker. A title will be announced. In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Sunday, April 3, 2005.** *Concert:* Takacs Quartet. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$42. Tickets from (510) 642-9988. Contact: Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988 or <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/>.

**Wednesday, April 6, 2005.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Vadim Volkov, Professor, Department of Political Science and Sociology, European University, St. Petersburg; Visiting Professor, Central European University, Budapest, will be our speaker. A title will be announced. In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Thursday, April 7, 2005.** *Performance:* The Tsar's Guitars, 19th-century Russian guitar music. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. Fees: \$10/7/3. Tickets from (510) 642-9988. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

**Friday, April 8, 2005.** *Conference:* "Celebration of Music in Russian History and Culture." In Hertz Hall, 2 p.m. Speakers: Caryl Emerson, Princeton University; Marina Frolova-Walker, Cambridge University; William Quillen, UC Berkeley; Richard Taruskin, UC Berkeley. Sponsored by ISEEEES, the Department of Music, and Cal Performances.

**Saturday–Sunday, April 9–10, 2005.** *Conference:* "Glinka and His Legacies." In Hertz Hall, Sat. 9 a.m.–5 p.m.; Sun., 10 a.m.–2 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES, the Department of Music, Cal Performances, the Consortium for the Arts, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, and the Townsend Center for the Humanities.

**Saturday, April 9, 2005.** *Concert:* The Kirov Orchestra of the Mariinsky Theatre. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. Fees: \$36/\$56/\$72. See 4/3 event for contacts.

**Saturday, April 9, 2005.** *Concert:* Slavyanka, Men's Russian Chorus. At Notre Dame des Victoire Church, 566 Bush St, San Francisco, 8 p.m. See 3/12 event for contacts.

**Sunday, April 10, 2005.** *Concert:* The University Chorus, Marika Kuzma, director, will perform Stravinsky's *Svadebka (Les Noces)*. At Hertz Hall, 2 p.m. Fees: \$10/7/3. See 4/7 event for contacts.

**Wednesday, April 13, 2005.** *Noon Concert:* Shostakovich's Piano Trio No. 2, op. 67. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 12:15 p.m. Doors open at 11:55 a.m. Fees: Free. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

**Sunday, April 17, 2005.** *Concert:* The Russian Chamber Orchestra will perform works by Vivaldi, Strauss, and Borodin. At Mt. Tamalpais United Methodist Church, Mill Valley, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 students/seniors, 12 and under free. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

**Thursday–Saturday, April 21–23, 2005.** *Concert:* The San Francisco Symphony, featuring Leonidas Kavakos, violin, will perform Dvorak's Violin Concerto. Thurs: at Flint Center, 21250 Stevens Creek Blvd, Cupertino, 8 p.m., \$26-52; Fri–Sat: at Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m., \$20-103. See 2/24 concert for contacts.

**Friday, April 22, 2005.** *Concert:* The Oakland East Bay Symphony's program will include Stravinsky's *Firebird Suite*. At Paramount Theatre, Oakland, 8 p.m. Fees: \$15-60. Contact: Oakland East Bay Symphony, <http://www.oeps.org/> or (510) 444-0801.

**Saturday, April 23, 2005.** *Annual Teacher Outreach Conference.* A topic and schedule will be announced. In the Toll Room, Alumni House. Advance registration will be required. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Friday–Saturday, May 6–7, 2005.** *Concert:* The University Chorus, Marika Kuzma, director, and the University Symphony will perform Stravinsky's *Firebird Suite*. At Hertz Hall, 8 p.m. Fees: \$10/7/3. See 4/7 event for contacts.

**Sunday, May 8, 2005.** *Performance:* Gypsy Crossings, featuring Bireli Lagrene and Taraf de Haidouks, will perform traditional Roma music. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, 7 p.m. Fees: \$22/\$30/\$42. Tickets are available by calling (510) 642-9988 or <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/>. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Thursday–Sunday, May 12–15, 2005.** *Conference:* "The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture in the 1950s and 1960s." In the Geballe Room, Townsend Center for the Humanities, 220 Stephens Hall. A schedule will be announced. Sponsored by ISEEEES, the Department of History, the Division of Social Sciences, the Division of Humanities, the Institute of International Studies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and Sheila Fitzpatrick/Mellon Foundation.

**Sunday, May 22, 2005.** *Concert:* The Russian Chamber Orchestra will perform works by Vivaldi, Schubert, and Shostakovich. At Mt. Tamalpais United Methodist Church, Mill Valley, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 students/seniors, 12 and under free. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

# Outreach Programs

## *Bringing Kazakhstan into the Classroom*

During International Education Week (November 15–19, 2004), ISEEEES participated in the International Day celebration held at Saklan Valley School in Moraga, California. International Education Week is an annual event established by the US Department of Education and the US Department of State to promote international education and exchange. Saklan students spent November 17 with speakers on countries from Africa, Asia, and Europe.

ISEEEES contributed the expertise of Dr. Izaly Zemtsovsky, our visiting scholar who is a specialist on the music and folklore of Eurasia. He gave a lively and thought-provoking talk—complete with artifacts, music, and photographs—on traditional culture in Kazakhstan to six groups of students mixed from grades 1 through 8.

Izaly began with the influence of geography on traditional Kazakh culture. Using the classroom's physical map, the students interpreted Kazakhstan's terrain as steppes, which they also saw in photographs. The country experiences a continental climate, with hot, dry summers and very cold, snowy winters. The combination of climate and landscape prevented Kazakhs from becoming agriculturalists. Rather, they raise livestock, primarily sheep, which migrate four times a year in search of grass and water. Nomadic Kazakhs ride horses and use camels as pack animals. Their homes, a kind of tent called a yurt, are easily dismantled, carried on a cart, and reassembled in about fifteen minutes. Wood is used economically for the yurt's frame, which is then covered by layers of felt, made from their sheep's wool.

Life inside a yurt is organized around one's rank: which piece of lamb each person eats, where a person sits on the floor relative to the door, and where everyone sleeps varies by the age and status of each family member. The center of the round yurt is considered sacred space, reflecting the Shamanistic beliefs that are part of Kazakh culture, though they are also traditionally Muslim. In spite of social hierarchy, there is relative equality between the sexes: men and women are both responsible for tasks requiring physical labor, girls as well as boys ride horses, and so on. Izaly showed us some hats for various occasions, including an everyday hat that both boys and girls could wear—the Kazakh equivalent of the baseball cap. When he played for us a recording of dombra music, Izaly pointed out that it was performed by a girl. The dombra, a kind of stringed instrument, was strummed energetically, and from the music we could vividly imagine galloping on horseback—one student shared that the song *was* just like riding a horse in her experience.

The kinds of food Kazakhs traditionally eat are also dictated by geography. They primarily eat meat and milk

products (from sheep, goat, horse, and camel milk), and their sedentary neighbors are a source for grain. Because fresh milk does not keep long, Kazakhs use it in products that can be stored. *Kumiss* is a famous fermented beverage made from horse milk and has an alcohol content like beer. They also make *kurt* by cooking milk until it becomes thick and then forming it into small balls that are dried. *Kurt*, along with dried meats, can be consumed on horseback while traveling long distances. A piece of *kurt* is placed in one's mouth and consumed as it dissolves. Izaly told us that it packs a lot of energy, and a few students expressed disappointment that they weren't going to try some of it that day. Izaly also described for us the Aport, the famous Kazakh variety of apple which grows as large as a pound each and exudes a delicious and lasting fragrance. This variety only grows in Kazakhstan, in the mountains outside of the former capital, Almaty, no doubt influenced by the unique climatic conditions.

Finally, Izaly discussed some children's pastimes. Children, who learn to ride horses at a very early age, play some games on horseback. They also have a versatile toy comprised of small sheep bones (*tali*, from the ankle joint). Izaly had a set of these bones that the students passed around. Each bone has six uniquely-shaped sides, so they can be used like dice. The sides, instead of being assigned a number, are called by the names of animals—sheep, goat, and so on—with values relative to each animal's value in Kazakh culture. The bones are also used in games that I would liken to jacks and marbles.

The Saklan students were introduced to a country and culture that is unfamiliar to many Americans. They made interesting connections between that far-off place and their own experiences. We discussed the profound influence of geography on cultures and the ecology of traditional life (like using sheep to produce food, clothing, shelter, and toys). We also touched on the parallels between Kazakh traditions and what the students know about Native Americans from the plains, such as being nomads, making circular tents, and drying meat to store their food. We didn't even have time to talk about Ghengiz Khan and the Mongol legacy in Central Asia! But this day demonstrated to me how students benefit by “going deep” into the material, that students of any grade level can benefit from this kind of experience, and how teachers can fit more international studies into the classroom by finding parallels to topics in the curriculum standards.

*Stella Bourgoin is a program representative at ISEEEES. Start preparing for 2005's International Education Week by going to <http://exchanges.state.gov/iew/>.*



## **The Black Book, continued from page 10**

when Russia demonized the Turks and Islam to justify territorial aggression. In 1876, Russia rallied around the Orthodox brotherhood of the South Slavs, fueling volunteer mobilization with reports of Turkish atrocities in Serbia and Bulgaria. Ivan repeats some of these reports in *Brothers Karamazov*, saying, “The Turks and Circassians there, in Bulgaria, have been committing atrocities everywhere—they burn, kill, rape women and children, they nail prisoners by the ears to fences and leave them like that until morning, and in the morning they hang them.... These Turks, among other things, have also taken a delight in torturing children....”<sup>8</sup>

Dostoevsky discusses these and other atrocity reports in *A Writer's Diary*. He denigrates the Turks as “an Asiatic horde and not a proper state” and contrasts the Turkish devastation of Bulgarian villages with how generously the Russians treat Turkish prisoners, quoting heavily from newspaper articles to that effect.<sup>9</sup>

His attempts to compare Russian enlightenment to Turkish barbarism reveal two levels of East-West anxiety: first, that Europe does not accept Russia as enlightened and civilized, and second, that perhaps Russia is not enlightened and civilized. In *A Writer's Diary*, Dostoevsky differentiates between the evils of Turkish imperialism and the blessing of Russian imperialism while bemoaning the ignorance of minorities (like the South Slavs) who see little difference between the two. He worries that Europe loves the Turks, not for any virtue, but simply to spite Russia. He bitterly quotes a French saying equating Russians and Tatars—although Russians frequently use such expressions, it seems an act of Orientalism against Russia for the French to do the same. Even Europe's favor cannot be trusted, as “Europe is ready to praise us, pat us on the head, but will not acknowledge us as her own, secretly despises us, and openly considers us as people beneath her, as a lower species.”<sup>10</sup> In other words, Europe treats Russia as though it were the Orient.

To counteract this, Dostoevsky insists on a distinction between the true Orient of Turkey and the falsely Orientalized Russia. Yet he struggles in both *A Writer's Diary* and *Brothers Karamazov* to distinguish between Russia and the East. In the diary, he writes, “Russia is not only in Europe but in Asia as well; because the Russian is not only a European but an Asian as well.”<sup>11</sup> He welcomes the war with the Ottoman Empire as an opportunity to purify Russia's identity and establish an ennobling distance from the Turks. By being Orientalist, Russia can avoid being the Orient.

Interestingly, Dostoevsky equates barbarism with Turkey, but not with Islam. In fact, he studied Islam and respected many aspects of it. He was familiar with the Koran in a French translation and in Pushkin's adaptation of some of the suras. He befriended various educated and

uneducated Muslims and learned from them. All of the scholars who have written about Dostoevsky and Islam note his fascination with Mohammed. Michael Futrell and others connect this fascination to the European theory, popular in Dostoevsky's time, that Mohammed was an epileptic.<sup>12</sup> This theory explained Mohammed's spells of prophecy as epileptic seizures, paralleling and perhaps strengthening Dostoevsky's own sense of epilepsy as a holy state. He used this model for his characters, many of whom suffer from epilepsy or a similar brain disease, including two in *Brothers Karamazov*. He also used this model to describe the connection he sensed between his own illness and talent.

Both Islam and Turkey thus relate to Dostoevsky's idea of Russia, but to different elements of it. Mohammed's holy inspiration through epilepsy appears not only in *Brothers Karamazov*, but in *Crime and Punishment* and *The Idiot*. The connection between illness and the gift of prophecy—between weakness and power—corresponds to Dostoevsky's vision of Christ's sacrifice. Of course, spirituality is also encoded as Eastern in the Orientalist model. Dostoevsky's representation of Turkey enacts a more overtly Orientalizing framework, corresponding to his idea of Russia's barbarism.

Although Dostoevsky frequently denies the possibility and desirability of Westernizing Russia, the Orientalist strategies in the story of the Grand Inquisitor provide a model for that project. Dostoevsky there retreats to universality as a defense against his anxieties about individual illness and national backwardness, which are encoded as specifically Eastern. Universality is Dostoevsky's solution for Russia's identity, since it is precisely Russia's poverty and backwardness which he believes give it a unique spiritual character. Through its weakness, Russia gains a universal soul. In his famous speech about Pushkin, Dostoevsky claims this Russian universality, declaring that “the Russian heart is most plainly destined, among all the peoples, for universally human and brotherly unity.”<sup>13</sup>

These claims to universality are contradicted by Dostoevsky's description of the Orientalist strategy he employs to make them. To return to the opening quote of this paper, “In Europe we were hangers-on and slaves, while in Asia we shall be the masters. In Europe we were Tatars, while in Asia we are Europeans.” Pamuk enacts this suggested substitution, making Dostoevsky's text European by transposing it to an Asian Istanbul and translating it from Christianity to Islam. In this way, Pamuk decentralizes both the reader and Dostoevsky, ahistorically recontextualizing a well-known work into a historically Orientalist discourse.

## **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> *A Writer's Diary*, Kenneth Lantz, trans. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1993), 1374.

<sup>2</sup> *The Brothers Karamazov*, Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky, trans. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1990), 256.

<sup>3</sup> *The Black Book*, Guneli Gun, trans. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994), 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>5</sup> Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>7</sup> *The Black Book*, Chapter 16: "I Must Be Myself." (The phrase only occurs in the original Turkish.)

<sup>8</sup> *The Brothers Karamazov*, 238–9.

<sup>9</sup> *A Writer's Diary*, 1131.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1372.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1369.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Futrell, "Dostoevsky and Islam (and Chokan Valikhanov)," *Slavic and East European Review* 57:1 (Winter 1979): 16–31; James Rice, *Dostoevsky and the Healing Art* (Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis, 1985); and Halimur Khan, "Dreaming of Islam: Dostoevskij's Vision of a New Russia in *Prestuplenie i nakazanie*," *Russian Literature* 48:3 (Fall 2000): 231–261.

<sup>13</sup> *A Writer's Diary*, 1295.

## Faculty and Student News

**Sener Akturk**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented "Eurasianism Turkish-Style: The Origins and the Rise of Eurasianism in Turkey" at the 2004 meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities.

**Stephan Astourian**, executive director of the Armenian Studies Program, contributed a chapter entitled "State, Homeland, and Diapora: The Armenian and Azerbaijani Cases" to the forthcoming volume *Central Asia and the Caucasus: Transnationalism and Diaspora* (Routledge, in press 2005).

**Kerstin Bree Carlson**, J.D. candidate in Boalt Hall School of Law, is spending the 2004–05 academic year in Croatia on a Fulbright grant.

**Winson Chu**, Ph.D. candidate in the history department, presented "Eastern Studies in Transformation: The German Minority in Poland, 1918–1939" at the German Studies Association's annual conference in October 2004.

**Adrienne Edgar** (Ph.D. in history, 1999) authored the recently published *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (Princeton University Press, 2004). She is currently an assistant professor in the Department of History at UC Santa Barbara.

**Patrick Henry**, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, presented "Englishing Metarealism" at AATSEEL's annual meeting in December 2004.

**Andreas Johns** (Ph.D., Slavic languages and literatures, 1996) published a book, based on his dissertation, entitled

*Baba Yaga: The Ambiguous Mother and Witch of the Russian Folktale* (Peter Lang, 2004).

**Anaita Khudonazar**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Near Eastern Studies, presented "The Image of the 'Other' in Tajik Poetry of the 70s and 80s" at the 2004 meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities. Anaita is the author of a working paper entitled *The Other* (Fall 2004, BPS Working Paper Series, available from <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/publications.html>).

**Julia McAnallen**, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, presented "The Context of Feminization in Russian" at the 2004 meeting of AATSEEL, held in Philadelphia in December.

**Elizabeth McGuire**, Ph.D. candidate in history, is spending the current academic year in Russia through the 2004–05 Fulbright US Student Program.

**Sanjot Mehendale**, executive director of the Caucasus and Central Asia Program, co-edited *Central Asia and the Caucasus: Transnationalism and Diaspora* (Routledge, in press 2005).

**James Clay Moltz** (Ph.D., Political Science, 1989) coauthored *Preventing Nuclear Meltdown: Managing Decentralization of Russia's Nuclear Complex*, which was published in the fall of 2004 by Ashgate Publishing. Clay is deputy director and research professor at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies of the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

**Benjamin Nathans** (Ph.D., History, 1989) received the W. Bruce Lincoln Book Prize at the AAASS National Convention in December 2004 for *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia*. The prize is presented biennially for the first published book of exceptional merit and lasting significance for the understanding of Russia's past. Ben is an associate professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania.

**Renee Perelmutter**, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, presented "The Reference System and Conjugation Usage in Early Russian Legal Texts" at the 2004 meeting of AATSEEL, held in Philadelphia in December.

**Harsha Ram**, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, has been awarded a Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Fellowship to pursue research in Moscow and Tbilisi, Georgia in fall 2005. Harsha is currently a fellow at the Stanford Humanities Center at Stanford University, where he is pursuing a book project entitled "The Peripheral Avant-Garde: Modernism and Revolution in Tbilisi, Georgia, 1916–1930."

**Kathryn Schild**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented "A Dialogue with Dostoevsky: Orhan Pamuk's *The Black Book*" at the annual AATSEEL meeting in December 2004. It is published in this newsletter; see page 9.

**Yuri Slezkine**, professor of history and ISEEEES director, authored *The Jewish Century*, which was published by Princeton University Press in fall 2004.

**Jonathan Stone**, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, "Saintly Princes and Princely Saints: Writing the Sacred in Medieval Rus" at the 2004 AATSEEL meeting in December.

**Sylvia Swift**, Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature, chaired a panel entitled Russian and East European Film-Makers Abroad at the 2004 AATSEEL meeting in December.

**Edward W. Walker**, executive director of the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, and **George Sanikidze**, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Georgian Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi, coauthored a working paper in the BPS Working Paper Series entitled *Islam and Islamic Practices in Georgia* (Fall 2004).

**Bojana Zdraljevic** (B.A., Slavic languages and literatures, 2003) in spending 2004–05 in Croatia on a Fulbright grant.

## Current FLAS Awards

FLAS (Foreign Language and Area Studies) fellowships were awarded for summer 2004 to the following graduate students:

**Molly Brunson** (Slavic Languages and Literatures), Russian

**Kerstin Carlson** (Law), Serbian/Croatian

**Nicole Eaton** (History), Russian

**Anzhelika Khyzhnya** (Slavic Languages and Literatures), Polish

**Jody LaPorte** (Political Science), Uzbek

**Elena Morabito** (Slavic Languages and Literatures), Serbian/Croatian

**Eugenia Teytelman** (Slavic Languages and Literatures), Czech

**Susanne Wengle** (Political Science), Russian

FLAS fellowships for the current academic year, 2004–2005, were awarded to:

**Neil Abrams**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, for Russian

**Joanna Cyganik-Williams**, Ph.D. candidate in history, for Czech (one semester award)

**Nicole Eaton**, Ph.D. candidate in history, for Russian

**Christine Evans**, Ph.D. candidate in history, for Russian

**Anzhelika Khyzhnya**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, for Polish (one semester award)

**Naomi Levy**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, for Serbian/Croatian

**Andrej Milivojevic**, M.A. candidate in the School of Public Policy, for Bulgarian

**Alexis Peri**, Ph.D. candidate in history, for Russian

**Jillian Porter**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, for Serbian/Croatian

**Steve Swerdlow**, J.D. candidate in the Boalt Hall School of Law, for Georgian

# Associates of the Slavic Center



ISEEES acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center, between September 1, 2004 and January 7, 2005.

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**ISEEES NEEDS YOUR HELP.** The cuts in our state funding have seriously impacted our programs, such as student fellowships and grants. We recently have received a generous bequest of \$200,000 from one of our long-time and well-loved donors. If we can raise donations to double that amount, we will be able to establish a special endowment to ensure our ability to provide student travel and graduate training grants in the future. Renewing your ASC membership at any level will help us to meet this goal. Membership in ASC entails the following privileges:

**Members (Gifts to \$100).** Members receive Monthly Updates to the Newsletter so that they can attend all ISEEES events. Members are also notified in writing about newly-added events.

**Sponsors (Gifts above \$100).** ASC Sponsors also receive specially designed gifts that bear the ISEEES logo, promoting Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley.

**Benefactors (Gifts above \$500).** ASC Benefactors receive a complimentary copy of a book authored by ISEEES faculty. In addition, ISEEES will hold an annual reception and tea at which Benefactors will meet the graduate students who have been assisted by these funds.

**Center Circle (Gifts above \$1,000).** Members of the Center Circle are invited to evening programs associated with our events, such as the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in the spring.

*It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.*

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# Money for Graduate Students

## Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships

The Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships program provides funding to assist graduate students in the study of modern foreign languages.

Fellowships are available for both the academic year and the summer. Fellowships cover fees and provide a stipend.

**Academic Year  
2005–2006**  
\$14,000 stipend plus fees  
Deadline: February 1, 2005

**Summer 2005**  
\$2,400 stipend plus  
program fees up to \$3,600  
Deadline: February 1, 2005

Who is eligible to apply?

- \*Graduate students in the humanities, social sciences, and professional fields
- \*Citizens, nationals, or permanent residents of the United States
- \*Enrollment in modern foreign languages and area and international studies is required.

For more information, contact:

Gina Farales  
Graduate Fellowships Office  
318 Sproul Hall  
U.C. Berkeley  
(510) 642-7739  
<http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/>



# Fellowship and Other Opportunities

**ISEEES Travel Grants** provide limited travel support for academics and ISEEES-affiliated graduate students. Up to \$400 is awarded to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive ISEEES funding in AY 02–03 or 03–04. To apply send request with budget to: Barbara Voytek, ISEEES, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

**East European Funding** opportunities administered by ISEEES—see page 32.

## ACTR/ACCELS

The **Eurasian Regional Language Program** is fee-based, but some fellowships are awarded. It funds grad students studying languages of the former Soviet Union abroad. Deadline: 3/1/05 fall; 4/1/05 fall/AY. Contact: ACTR/ACCELS, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; [outbound@actr.org](mailto:outbound@actr.org); <http://www.actr.org/>.

## Berkeley Language Center

**Instructional Research Fellowships for Graduate Students** fund one semester during the next AY to enable GSIs to work on special projects both to improve the quality of language instruction in their departments and to enhance their professional development as teachers to improve their chances of future employment at other institutions. Deadline: 3/7/2005. Contact: Professor Claire Kramsch, BLC Fellowship Program, Berkeley Language Center, B-40 Dwinelle Hall #2640; [Ckramsch@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:Ckramsch@socrates.berkeley.edu); <http://blc.berkeley.edu/>.

## Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

Four fellowships are available for research on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in specified disciplines. The **Helen Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship** awards up to \$12,000 for dissertation disertation writing. The **Marusia and Michael Dorosh Master's Fellowship** awards up to \$10,000 for thesis writing. The **Neporany Research and Teaching Fellowship** awards up to \$20,000 for postdoctoral research and teaching. The **Kowalsky Programme for the Study of Eastern Ukraine** awards **Research Grants in Ukrainian Studies**. Deadline: 3/1/2005. Contact: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 352 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton AB, Canada T6G 2E8; [cius@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca](mailto:cius@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca); <http://www.ualberta.ca/~cuis/>.

## DAAD

**Grants for Study in Germany** provide a stipend for 1-10 months, insurance, and international travel subsidy for

Berkeley undergraduate seniors, grad students, and postdocs (2 years or less beyond the Ph.D.) to study and conduct research next AY in Germany. Deadline: 3/1/2005. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall #5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/events/felldead.htm>.

## Harvard University

The **Ukrainian Research Institute** offers the **Eugene and Daymel Shklar Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies**, awarding \$9,000 to \$30,000. While in residence, Shklar Fellows will use the University's unique resources to work on significant and innovative projects in Ukrainian studies, and in general to further their development. Deadline: 3/18/2005. Contact: Shklar Fellowship Program, Ukraine Research Institute, 1538 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge MA 02138; <http://www.huri.harvard.edu/>.

## Human Rights Center

**Summer Internships with Human Rights Organizations** offer \$3,500 to registered UCB and GTU students to carry out clearly defined projects and/or internships with specific organizations related to the student's area of study. Deadline: 2/28/2005. Contact: Harvey M. Weinstein, Associate Director, Human Rights Center, 460 Stephens Hall # 2300, Berkeley CA 94720-2300; Tel: 510-642-0965; Fax: 510-643-3830; <http://www.hrcberkeley.org/>.

## Institute of International Education

**Professional Development Fellowships** fund 3-7 months of travel to young specialists in specified fields. Applicants must be second-year grad students or postdocs up to 5 years. Deadline: 3/15/2005. Contact: US Student Programs, Professional Development Fellowships, Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017-3580; Tel: 212-984-5330; Fax: 212-984-5325; [pdfnis@iie.org](mailto:pdfnis@iie.org); <http://www.iie.org/pgms/pdfnis/>.

## Institute of International Studies

The **Allan Sharlin Memorial Award** is for a Berkeley grad student conducting dissertation research in historical sociology, historical demography, or social history.

The **John L. Simpson Memorial Research Fellowship in International and Comparative Studies** is awarded to Berkeley grad students for dissertation research. See website for priority themes.

The **Reinhard Bendix Memorial Research Fellowship** provides dissertation funding for a promising Berkeley grad student in political and social theory.

Deadline: 4/5/2005. Contact: IIS, 215 Moses Hall #2308; Tel: 510-642-2472; <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/fellowship/>.

**Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation Standard Dissertation Fellowships** are awarded to enrolled UC grad students from any discipline who will advance to Ph.D. candidacy by June of the current AY.

The **IGDC-UCDC Fellowship in Foreign Policy Studies** is awarded for dissertation fellowship requires work at the IGCC Washington DC office for at least one quarter of the award term.

Deadline: 4/5/2005. Contact: IGCC, UC Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, 215 Moses Hall # 2308; Tel: 510-642-2472; Fax: 510-642-9493; <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/>. See program website at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>.

#### **Newberry Library**

**Short Term Fellowships** provide \$1,200/month, up to 2 months, to postdocs and Ph.D. candidates from outside of the Chicago area to use the Newberry collections. Deadline: 3/1/2005. Contact: Committee on Awards, 60 W Walton St, Chicago IL 60610-3380; Tel: 312-225-3666; [research@newberry.org](mailto:research@newberry.org); <http://www.newberry.org/>.

#### **UC Berkeley**

**Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowships** are for outstanding students in the humanities and social sciences. Applicants must be advanced to candidacy and finish their dissertations during the award year. Speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/2/2005.

**Mentored Research Awards** allow promising grad students to do research and develop/strengthen working relationships with faculty advisers. Speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/2/2005.

**UC Dissertation-Year Fellowships** are awarded to doctoral students finishing that award year who demonstrate strong potential for university teaching and research. Open to US citizens and permanent residents. Speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/2/2005.

Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships\\_deadlines.shtml](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml).

#### **University of Illinois**

The **Russian and East European Center Summer Research Lab on Russia and Eastern Europe** provides library access (June-August) and some housing awards.

Two weeks of programs include a symposium, workshops, lectures, and films. Deadline: 4/1/2005. Contact: Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 104 International Studies Bldg, 910 S Fifth St, Champaign IL 61820; Tel: 217-333-1244; Fax: 217-333-1582; [reec@uiuc.edu](mailto:reec@uiuc.edu); <http://www.reec.uiuc.edu/srl.htm>.

**US Dept of Education / UC Berkeley Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Academic Year Fellowships** enable grad students who are US citizens or permanent residents to gain competence in the modern foreign languages critical to the national needs of the US and in area and international studies.

**FLAS Summer Intensive Language Training Fellowships** provide registration fees and a stipend. Awards should provide each fellow with the equivalent of a full academic year's worth of language instruction. All courses must meet a required number of hours for 6 or more weeks. For a formal study abroad program, students must be at the intermediate or advanced level of language proficiency, or at the beginning level if an appropriate beginning language program in the student's language is not available in the US. Summer awards are not available for dissertation research

Deadline: 2/1/2005. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships\\_deadlines.shtml](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml).

#### **Woodrow Wilson Center**

The **East European Studies Junior Scholars Training Seminar** is open to Ph.D. students at the dissertation level or those who received a Ph.D. in the past year are eligible. Research is open to EE and Baltic studies, excluding Russia and the FSU. Deadline: 4/15/2005.

**East European Studies Short Term Grants** provide a stipend of \$100 a day, up to one month, to grad students and postdocs for research on EE and Baltic studies in Washington, DC and its research institutions. Grants do not include residence. Deadline: 3/1/05; also 6/1, 9/1.

Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; [kneppm@wwic.si.edu](mailto:kneppm@wwic.si.edu); <http://wwics.si.edu/ees/>.

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## Funding for East European Studies

### Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize

The Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize is awarded for an outstanding senior or honors thesis in the social sciences or humanities that researches some aspect of Serbian culture or history. Cal undergrads are eligible to apply. The application includes submission of the thesis and three letters of recommendation. There is **no deadline** for this prize.

### Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies

The Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies offers partial support in 2005–2006 to UC Berkeley–enrolled grad students working in Hungarian studies and/or US-Hungarian or European (including EU)-Hungarian relations. The application includes a dissertation prospectus or research proposal, one letter of recommendation, a budget, and a timeline. The deadline is **Friday, March 25, 2005**.

### Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies

The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies will award approximately \$10,000–13,000 for 2005–2006 to faculty and/or student projects that focus on the experience of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. Possible projects entail research, instruction, colloquia, symposia, lecture series and publications, and creative thought and writing in the social sciences, humanities, and arts. Proposals should include a budget and a timeline. The deadline is **Friday, March 25, 2005**.

For more information, visit <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/funding.html> or contact Barbara Voytek at (510) 643-6736 or [bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu). No electronic or faxed applications will be accepted.